Daily Report

East Europe

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Trade Protocol Signed With Soviet Union

AU3108200790 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] The trade protocol for 1990 between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the USSR was signed in Moscow today.

The protocol was signed for the Albanian side by Kostandin Hoxha, deputy minister of foreign trade, and for the Soviet side by Yevgeniy Osadchuk, deputy minister of foreign economic relations.

Under the protocol—on the basis of contracts which will (?be finalized) between enterprises and foreign trade organizations of the two countries in September 1990—Albania will export to the USSR tobacco, cigarettes, preserved fruit and vegetables, brandy, wine, etc., while the USSR will export to our country coke, sheet metal, steel, spare parts, (?synthetic fibers), and other goods.

During its stay in Moscow, our delegation was received by Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations; Deputy Foreign Minister Kvitsinskiy; Deputy Minister of the Maritime Fleet Trunov; Deputy Minister of Civil Aviation (?Arkhipov), and others. At their meetings, they discussed the future development of relations and economic cooperation between Albania and the USSR.

Greek Official Makes 'Anti-Albanian Statements'

AU0309195690 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] The chauvinist anti-Albanian statements of the Greek deputy prime minister:

At a so-called academic conference organized by the infamous Metropolitan Doksianou [name as heard] of Konitsa, held in Ioannina at the end of August, many participants made provocative statements against Albania. They culminated in a statement by Athanasios Kanellopoulos, Greek deputy prime minister and minister of justice, who, in his greeting to the congress in the name of the Greek Government, demanded a reconsideration of the geographic map of Europe to involve the national problem of the Greeks of Vorioipiros [northern Epirus, part of Albania]. In this connection, he asked for no more and no less than for the torch of the Vorioipirotes to be kept ablaze, and that what he called a more correct and promising national strategy must be defined.

Metropolitan Doksianou also (?provided a pearl), ending his speech with the wish that next year's conference about Vorioipiros be held in Korce or Gjirokaster.

Unfortunately, Mr. Mitsotakis, the Greek prime minister and chairman of the New Democracy Party, also joined this chorus in his message to the participants in the congress, promising them his unqualified support.

Speeches at the congress and the greeting of the Greek ministers included unbridled attacks against the former Papandreou government over its lifting of the state of war with Albania and the general policy of good-neighborliness with our country which it pursued.

In a similarly provocative manner, the Athens paper ELEVTHEROTIPIA reports that the participants in the congress, led by the reactionary Greek bishop [name indistinct] himself, went to the Greek side of the Kakavia border crossing, where they held a demonstration marked by chauvinist calls and threats.

Such provocative activities are normal for the reactionary Greek clergy, but when they go so far as to include the highest representatives of the Athens government, it all shows that we are dealing with a policy which seriously harms not only the relations of good-neighborliness between our countries, which were established after so much effort by both sides, but peace and security in our region.

Alia, Carcani Send Greetings to SRV Leaders

AU0209154190 Tirana ATA in English 0855 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Tirana, September 2 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, sent the following message of greetings to Nguyen Van Linh, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Vo Chi Cong, head of the State Council and to Do Muoi, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam:

"It is a pleasure for us that, on occasion of the 45th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Vietnam, to send you and through you to the Vietnamese people cordial greetings and the warmest wishes.

"The victor of independence 45 years ago was an event of historical importance which opened to the Vietnamese people the road to the development and progress of their homeland in freedom, independence and sovereignty. Our people sincerely rejoice over the continuous progress of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the consolidation of the attained victories. On occasion of this marked anniversary the Albanian people wish the Vietnamese people further successes in the construction and consolidation of the country and the prosperity of their homeland.

"We express our conviction that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation existing between our two peoples and countries strengthen further more."

Hoxha Sends Mother Teresa Birthday Message

AU3008132490 Tirana ATA in English 0917 GMT 29 Aug 90

[Text] Tirana, August 28 (ATA)—Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, president of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, sent the following message to Mother Teresa, on occasion of the 80th anniversary of her birthday:

Dear Mother Teresa,

I send you my heartfelt congratulations and my warmest wishes on the occasion of your 80th birthday .

The work you have been carrying out over many years with self-denial and sacrifice in the service of the poor, the sick, the hungry and the abandoned is a source of pride for the Albanian nation, for you, Gonxhe Bojaxhiu, are its daughter who, with her great moral strength and her profound humanity, has become an example known and respected all over the world.

I wish you once again long life and good health.

Erection of Walls Around Embassies Denied

AU3008132290 Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 29 Aug 90

["Albania Refutes the Speculations on Surrounding the Embassies With Walls"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 28 (ATA)—Recently, some foreign press organs have reported on the so-called surrounding of the zone of the embassies in Tirana with walls. The ATA correspondent was informed by the competent organs and learned that at the request of some embassies themselves some adjustments of the walls and their lattices are made. On this basis it is speculated that the zone of the embassies is being surrounded with walls. This is not true and it would be impossible also for the fact that the embassies are situated in different parts of the capital.

Cerrava, Carcani Speak at Vlore War Anniversary

AU0209152090 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Tirana, September 2 (ATA)— The 70th anniversary of the Vlore heroic war, which has remained indelible in the national consciousness of the whole Albanian people, was celebrated in the city of Vlore on September 1. This war against the Italian imperialist occupation constitutes one of the most brilliant pages of our glorious history.

To participate in this celebration of Vlore there came the member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Adil Carcani; the member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and minister of people's defense, Comrade Kico Mustaqi; the member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, Comrade Vangjel Cerrava; the member of the party Central Committee and chairwoman of the General Council of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania], Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha; the members of the party Central Committee, Manush Myftiu, Spiro Koleka, and Aranit Cela. This celebration was attended also by the member of the CC [Central Committee] of the PLA [Albanian Workers Party] and chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, Nedin Hoxha, leading cadres of the party and power organs from Tepelene, and other comrades.

Then a solemn meeting was organized in the city's palace of sports, which was declared open by the member of the CC of the PLA and first secretary of the Vlore District Party Committee, Halil Hasko.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the DFA, and personally of Comrade Ramiz Alia, those present were greeted by Comrade Vangjel Cerrava, who said among others:

Vlore and the entire Albania commemorate as a marked event of the history of our people, the 70th anniversary of the anti-imperialist war of Vlore of 1920.

Time taught our people the great truth that freedom is not donated, but won arms in hand, through blood and supreme sacrifices, that its genuine fighters are the broad masses of the people.

After speaking of the history of the Vlore war, he said that this war enriched the patriotic and anti-imperialist traditions of the Albanian people. They once more proved to the world that for the freedom and independence they sacrifice even the most sacred thing, life, that a people although small in numbers, when fighting for a just cause and are united and determined to win at all cost their rights, can face any foreign power and cause its failure. After speaking of the Antifascist National Liberation War led by the Communist Party of Albania with the legendary commander and commissar, Comrade Enver Hoxha, he said further on that on November 29, 1944 our national liberation struggle against the Nazi-fascist occupiers ended and was successfully crowned, but another not less difficult and heroic struggle commenced, that for the country's socialist transformation, for the consolidation of the new people's power, for the safeguarding of the attained victories.

The decisions of the 9th, 10th and 11th plenums of the party CC and the speeches of Comrade Ramiz Alia, he said further on, constitute a clear program on the road of the construction of socialism in our country, under the circumstances of the major changes accomplished in the world, particularly in the countries of Eastern Europe. They have been welcomed with enthusiasm and have enjoyed the powerful support of the working masses.

Proud of their glorious past and of the road traversed, our people have scored colossal achievements under the

people's power, which can be darkened by no force. They love and preserve as the apple of the eyes the freedom, independence and national sovereignty. Convinced that they are on a correct road, they are marching on the road they themselves have chosen, to which fresh impulses have been given by the measures adopted by the party and government, for the incessant democratization and revolutionization of the whole life of the country, for the further strengthening of the links with the masses, for the promotion of the initiative and self-activity of the working masses, for the improvement of socialist legislation, for the implementation of the new economic mechanism and introduction of the new methods in economy, etc. Albania stands unflinching on its road of socialism and implements its correct and principled foreign policy. It is this order that brought us from darkness into light, that united us at work, equipped us with culture and knowledge, uplifted the well-being and made us free and independent, made us enjoy an outstanding reputation by the peoples in the world. Therefore we love socialism and are closely linked with it.

It is a major fate for us and a fundamental peculiarity of our development, that it is the party that has carried and carries in its hands the banner of these changes, that of progress. Naturally this is not in the interest of the enemies, because they do not want our people be linked like flesh to bone with the party, they do not want the implementation of the measures and decisions of the party for the democratisation of the country, they do not want socialism, people's power, the Party of Labour to exist in Albania.

Speaking of some problems of the international situation, he said that in Kosovo and other Albanian territories in Yugoslavia the most elementary rights of the Albanians living in their territories are violated in the most flagrant way. Our people condemn with great hatred these illegitimate and antipeople stands of the Serbian chauvinists and call for an end to be immediately put to repressive measures and genocide against Albanians. This will be first of all to the benefit of Yugoslavia, as well as to the consolidation of the relations of good neighbourliness, peace and security in our region.

At the end of his speech, Comrade Vangjel Cerrava said:

I express the conviction of the Central Committee that the people of Vlore with the Communists in the lead will embrace the powerful drives and undertakings to fulfil the tasks of the year 1990.

Then the professional and amateur groups of the city of Vlore as well as the folk ones of some villages of this district gave a beautiful concert.

With profound respect and veneration for the sublime deed of the people's fighters who laid down their life in the war of Vlore in 1920, hundreds of inhabitants of the city of Vlore took to the hill over the city on September 1 before noon, where the monument to this glorious epopee [epic] is erected.

Wreaths were laid on the monument. The wreath in the name of the party Central Committee was laid by Comrade Adil Carcani and the first secretary of the district Party Committee, Halil Hasko, in the name of the Council of Ministers by Comrades Vangjel Cerrava and Kico Mustaqi, and in the name of the General Council of the DFA by Comrades Nexhmije Hoxha and Manush Myftiu. [passage omitted]

On occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Vlore anti-imperialist war, the Executive Committee of the Vlore District People's Council gave a dinner in the Adriatik Hotel on September 1, evening.

Present were also Comrades Adil Carcani, Kico Mustaqi, and Vangjel Cerrava, the member of the party Central Committee and chairwoman of the General Council of the DFA, Nexhmije Hoxha, the members of the party Central Committee Spiro Koleka and Aranit Cela, the first secretary of the District Party Committee Halil Hasko, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council Nedin Hoxha, invitees from Tepelene, and others.

Comrade Adil Carcani took the floor at the dinner. He said among the other things:

The people of Vlore and of the entire Albania commemorated a major event of our national history, the 70th anniversary of the Vlore war. The heroic epopee inscribed in 1920 against the Italian imperialist occupiers here in Vlore, in this city of glorious patriotic traditions, where the flag of independence was hoisted, as well as the battles conducted in Diber and Koplik against the chauvinist Serbian-Montenegrin forces, were the continuation of the incessant struggles of our people against the numerous enemies aiming at the truncation of Albania and the elimination of the Albanian people as a nation.

The Vlore popular war confirmed in front of the world-wide public opinion that the Albanians were determined to defend at any cost their ancient territories, the freedom and independence won through blood and innumerable sacrifices. The love for the homeland, the invincible freedom-loving spirit, the lofty feeling of sacrifice and self-denial, the strong unity of the entire people for the cause of independence and national sovereignty, have been and are the most powerful weapons of the people against the enemies however big and powerful they are.

The main message transmitted by this important event, as well as the heroic national-liberation struggle and our whole glorious history, is a clarion call to develop the patriotic militant traditions, to safeguard the freedom and independence of our beloved homeland, the socialist victories we have attained through tremendous work and endeavours during these 46 years under the leadership of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, to make Albania more prosperous and flourishing, to make the people's life more beautiful.

We are celebrating this marked anniversary in a sound political situation, amidst the revolutionary enthusiasm and drive that has swept the whole working masses to translate into life the historic decisions of the plenum of the party CC and the constant instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia. The measures we have adopted were dictated by nobody, but are outcome of the growth of our socialist order. It is only our people united round the party, which through its correct program thinks and acts to the benefit of the people for the non-stop development of the country, that can realise the genuine democracy, the country's progress and the safeguarding of its freedom and independence.

The dinner passed in a very joyful atmosphere.

Carcani Visits Vlore Agricultural Enterprise

AU0309131090 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Tirana, September 3 (ATA)—Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, went to the "Rinia" Agricultural Enterprise where he met and had a warm talk with working people of this enterprise.

The collective of "Rinia" Agricultural Enterprise has overfulfilled the 8-month plan by 2.5 percent, delivering 800 quintals of wheat, 600 quintals of milk, 25 thousand eggs, meat, etc. over the plan. The incomes have been overfulfilled 4 percent. Due to proper services, the citrus trees are growing well and it is envisaged that the production will be overfulfilled by 700 quintals.

Comrade Adil Carcani greeted the working people and specialists in the name of the party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, congratulated them for the achievements and wished them successes in the future. Our people, he said among others, have fought in centuries for freedom and independence, but the book has also been their closest companion. From the fold of this people have emerged distinguished figures in the fields of education, culture, which have raised higher the glory of our nation.

He took interest in good beginning of this school year, the care to be taken for the education of children, etc., because school, he said, is of great importance for the progress of the nation.

Comrade Adil Carcani dwelt also on the tasks of the recent plenums of the party Central Committee for the application of the new economic mechanism, which, he said, should lead by all means to the increase of the social labour productivity, the improvement of the quality, overfulfillment of the production plan, selling and export, reduction of the expenditure for the increase of incomes and the remuneration of the working people. In particular, the new economic mechanism demands that each enterprise be efficient.

Further on, he spoke of the socialist transformations that have taken place like everywhere in Vlore too, and underlined that the achievements have in their foundations the blood shed in struggle, the sweat of the years of socialism. Therefore more and a better work is needed to preserve, consolidate and improve the people's power, to further revolutionize and democratize the country's life, as well as to create conditions for the continuous elevation of the social and cultural welfare of the masses.

From here Comrade Adil Carcani went to the new playing ground in the "Pavaresi" quarter of Vlore city. In one of the game halls he conducted a talk with youngsters of the secondary schools of the city, parents and other inhabitants. He evaluated the work done for the creation of good conditions for the entertainment and cultured resting of the children and youth and instructed that these (?monuments) be maintained, extended and others be also erected, organizing there widespread activities.

Likewise Comrade Adil Carcani met and had a warm conversation also with inhabitants of the city quarters, took interest in the people's supply, the housing, employment problems etc., and gave instructions for the further enlivening of the market, especially the cooperativist and peasant one, the extension of the trade and handicraft services, etc.

Lukanov Offers New Cabinet Seats to Opposition

AU0309193090 Sofia BTA in English 1755 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Sep (BTA)—"The Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov was willing to give the opposition between 40 and 45 per cent of the portfolios and showed readiness to freeze his BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] membership," Dr. Petur Dertliev, the leader of the Social Democratic Party, told the press today. Dr. Dertliev and Mr. Lukanov conferred this morning on the possible participation of specific opposition figures in the future government. Dr. Dertliev, however, declined to identify them.

Dr. Petur Dertliev told about the consultations which the major political forces held on September 1 on the formation of a government. At these consultations Mr. Lukanov, who was asked to form a government, said that the best option for the future cabinet was a coalition but he himself was aware that this was impossible at this point. He suggested the formation of a cabinet of people with political experience and prestige who should not commit directly their parties and who should enjoy the support of parliament. Dr. Dertliev believes this is a version of a coalition government and is therefore unacceptable. According to the social democrats leader, the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) showed willingness to take part in a future coalition government, as did Mr. Petur Beron, the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] chairman, but this view was not shared by the SDS-affiliated parties.

Cabinet Expected by End of Month

AU0409111590 Sofia BTA in English 1055 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, September 4 (BTA)—Mr. Viktor Vulkov, the leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), who conferred today with the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov, said that the consultations for a new cabinet have promising prospects.

After his meeting with Mr. Lukanov, Mr. Vulkov told the BTA he was convinced that a new government will be formed until the end of the month.

Mr. Viktor Vulkov reiterated the position of his party to take part only in a broad-based representative government, enjoying the support of the major political forces. Asked whether the BZNS has been invited to participate in the new cabinet, he said that the consultations are going on.

Lukanov Discusses Plan, Tasks

AU0309111490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 31 Aug 90 p 1

[Interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "The New-Old Prime Minster Answers DUMA Questions"]

[Text] [Reporter] Did you anticipate the president's proposal that you form the new government, which was almost unanimously adopted?

[Lukanov] Not completely. I am surprised to a certain degree, although—it must clearly be said—this is only a mandate to conduct consultations rather than a final decision of the Grand National Assembly on the election of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Therefore, this decision has a preliminary, and to certain degree, a conditional character.

[Reporter] What should the new government be like?

[Lukanov] It must be strong and rely on parliamentary and public support. This is not a new opinion of mine, and it has not changed.

[Reporter] How will you approach the formation of the government?

[Lukanov] First of all, we must ascertain the structure and tasks of the new government. Obviously, they must be rather different from those of the previous government. The new government will work in a completely new economic environment and in a changing legal environment. At the same time, it will implement its functions with completely different relations with the other basic organs of the state power and the other factors in our society and economy, which already really are autonomous and independent.

The second part of the tasks related to seeking competent people with a fresh outlook. They must be people who stem from different sectors of our political life. I insist on this, because the government, and not only its program, must enjoy public support.

[Reporter] Will you have an integral struggle with your political inclinations?

[Lukanov] There is no reason for this. We have already grasped the truth that Bulgaria needs a leadership which will be viewed by all political forces as their own. The narrow-party approach is not only out of place, but also extremely unrealistic. I would not advise anyone to be captive of such prejudices.

[Reporter] When will you begin?

[Lukanov] I would like to start today or tomorrow at the latest.

[Reporter] When do you think you will be ready with your proposal?

[Lukanov] I suppose no later than the end of next week.

Denies 'Freeze' on BSP Membership

AU0309204690 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Sep (BTA)—Mr. Andrey Lukanov does not intend to freeze his BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party]

membership, the press service of the Council of Ministers announced in connection with the report circulated at a news conference in the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces that at consultations on the composition of the future government with the leader of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party Dr. Petur Dertliev, the prime minister allegedly said that he was ready to freeze his membership in the BSP after the formation of a coalition government.

The press service of the Council of Ministers has been authorized to declare that this matter was not discussed at the consultations.

Zhelev Begins Consultations With Assembly Leaders

AU0109180690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Statement by presidential spokesman Valentin Stoyanov telephoned to the "Khorizont" program; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Today President Zhelyu Zhelev convened a meeting of the leaders of the political parties represented in the Grand National Assembly in connection with the consultations on forming the country's new government. These consultations have already begun.

Andrey Lukanov, who has been given the task of forming the new cabinet, informed the participants in the meeting of his views on the main principles on which he is basing the formation of the new government. He emphasized that in his view the organ of executive power should be supraparty and national body, and that in view of safeguarding civil peace, the economic crisis, and Bulgaria's foreign policy image, the government should not be a single-party one.

Frank talks took place, in which all the leaders of the political parties agreed on the necessity of building a strong and effective government which would have parliamentary and public support.

The discussion was held with frank and full expression of views and concern for the fate of Bulgaria.

The following took part in the meeting: Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party; Petur Beron, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces; Krum Nevrokopski and Yordan Kukurov from the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union; Petur Dertliev and Petur Kornazhev from the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party; Elka Konstantinova, Mikhail Nedelchev, and Aleksandur Yordanov from the Radical Democratic Party; Boris Kyurkchiev and Stefan Savov from the Democratic Party; Lyubomir Ivanov from the Green Party; Petko Simeonov and Stoyan Ganev from the Union of Democratic Forces; Georgi Avramov from Ecoglasnost; Viktor Vulkov, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union; and Ginyo Ganev, chairman of the Fatherland Union and deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

President Zhelyu Zhelev made a closing speech at the meeting, saying that it had provided much food for thought. He agreed that a formula had to be found for forming a strong government, taking account of party and coalition interests, and also the international reaction to the political processes in Bulgaria.

The consultations on forming a new Bulgarian government will continue.

Reaction to Arson at BSP Headquarters Continues

Unknown Group Claims Responsibility

AU0309153790 Sofia BTA in English 1512 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Sep (BTA)—An anonymous caller told a representative of the Presidency on the telephone that the Bulgarian Secret Central Revolutionary Committee, a hitherto unknown organization, claimed responsibility for the arson of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council headquarters, Mr. Mikhail Nedelchev, spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), told the press today. The call lasted about half an hour and was discussed at the closed sitting of the Grand National Assembly on Friday, August 31. The opposition M.P.'s raised the question why the call was not intercepted by the security services once its duration made this possible. The anonymous caller said that death sentences have been passed on some M.P.'s. These M.P.'s were not identified but according to reports that could not be verified they include members of the ruling BSP and of the opposition.

Damage to Party Archives Viewed

AU0109190290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Aug 90 pp 1,2

[Darina Radeva report]

[Excerpts] With the help of pocket flashlights, people are still assessing the damage caused by the fire set in the party building in Sofia, damage which has not only material dimensions; I refer to the damage to the book stacks and archive funds documenting the party's century-long history. [passage omitted]

Great damage has been caused to archive documents. The reference indexes of the archive have been scattered about and some cards are missing. The reference index to current documents, which two specialists took five years to prepare, has been completely destroyed. The terminal of the computer serving the information system of the Central Party Archive has been smashed and burned, and the microprocessor system for current documents is completely burned out.

The main archive stores are flooded, and about 30 bucketfuls of water have collected in one of the rooms. Much highly qualified labor and many expensive operations are needed to restore the documents stored there.

However, it is impossible to restore the documents destroyed which were in the collection of "Foreign Organs of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP], 1923-1944." The documents survived when the party was outlawed in Berlin, Vienna, and Moscow, but failed to resist the fire of August 1990. One of the metal shelves has literally melted. A total of 140 archival items comprising 10,111 pages have been fully or partially burned. [passage omitted]

The torch thrown into the room failed to reach the personal archive funds of Dimitur Blagoev, Georgi Dimitrov, and Vasil Kolarov. The documents of the so-called Traykov and Kostov trial, totaling 500,000 pages, were also untouched by the flames.

Current documents stored in a room directly below the party club were greatly damaged. The originals of resolutions of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the BCP issued in 1976 and 1977 have been destroyed by fire, as well as the resolutions of the Central Committee Secretariat of 1985, 1986, and 1987. The flames turned these documents to ashes, although they were stored in metal boxes.

The arsonists and marauders failed to damage the documents that the Central Party Archive received from the offices of the former leaders of the BCP leadership prior to 10 November 1989, including documents from the private office of Todor Zhivkov. They also failed to get to the documents of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. The archives of the Central Commission on Party Ethics have suffered only slight damage.

Probe Ordered on Police Action

AU3108140890 Sofia BTA in English 1338 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 31 Aug (BTA)—The Armed Forces Prosecutor's Office has initiated preliminary proceedings to identify the guilty Ministry of Internal Affairs officials who failed to fulfill their duty during the arson of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council Headquarters on August 26 and 27. The investigation has been assigned to a panel of military prosecutors and investigators of the Criminal Investigation Department, the Prosecutor General's Office of Bulgaria announced.

Ministry Warns Against 'Malicious' Rumors

AU3108192990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Aug 90

["Announcement" from the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Sofia; date not given]

[Text] Following the vandalistic act and arson committed on the building of the Bulgarian Socialist Party during the night of 26 and 27 August, individual persons and groups of citizens, aiming to intensify the level of social tension and to create a state of psychosis among the population, are spreading various rumors concerning preparations for assaults and mob violence against sympathizers of certain political forces.

In this connection, the Ministry of Internal Affairs declares that, when the sources of these malicious rumors are discovered, the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are ready, in accordance with the declaration of the Grand National Assembly, to undertake all measures prescribed by the law and to act vigorously and decisively to ensure public order, calm, and protection of the rights and interests of all citizens.

The investigations in connection with the arson continue. The situation in the country is calm.

Fire Brigade Union Rejects Charges

AU0109195390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] The Independent Trade Union Organization of Firemen in Bulgaria totally rejects the unjust accusations and reproaches directed against the fire brigade organs in connection with the occurrences around the building of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party during the night of 26-27 August.

A declaration received by BTA stresses that the fire brigade's actions were correct and, in the final analysis, led to the extinguishing of the fire. [passage indistinct]

DUMA Editor Accuses Opposition

AU3108142290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 28 Aug 90 p 4

[Stefan Prodev, DUMA editor-in-chief, commentary: "Bulgaria Does Not Want To Burn!"]

[Text] Declarations of dissociation have begun to pour out. At the moment all the political parties and movements in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] are distancing themselves. Splendid! There are no guilty men. The guilty ones are the hooligans, who have nothing in common with the Town of Truth, the Civil Disobedience Movement, "Podkrepa," and the SDS. The guilty ones are certain young lads whom no one has ever seen beneath the blue banners, and whom no one ever incited.

This is already not hypocrisy, but cynicism. The culprits have decided to hide behind young lads, and behind those spiteful political split personalities who have been shouting "Death!" in the streets for the last six months. During the election campaign these cries of "Death!" inflamed the enthusiasm of the ne'er-do-wells and the hopes of individual leaders. Then, they imagined to themselves a Bulgaria without Socialists, or with Socialists, but imprisoned in camps. The opposition newspapers were not ashamed to issue reminders of Belene. However, real life rejected them, robbed them of victory, and their spite suddenly showed itself in its most barbaric form. Having lost of the elections, they looked for compensation, and found it in all those forms of social strife which led us to the night of 26 August.

The night of fire and iron bars, the night of destruction and arson tore off all the masks. A blue badge of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party shines out amid the burned-out remains on the first floor of the party building, facing Dondukov Boulevard. I have no idea where Dr. Dertliev was on that night, but one of his young supporters was wandering about amid the flames. Many other youths also roamed about, decorated with various badges. In the glow of the fire, the blue color was lost, but when the dawn came it could not be concealed. Keen eyes see it among the blackened remains, the broken plaster, the ransacked offices, the smashed computers, vases of flowers turned to ashes, among the books and pictures stabbed like bodies. Despite the fact that the SDS dissociated itself, the blue color cannot be hidden; it shows itself to our eyes in its most aggressive hues. In this case, dissociation is powerless to save the culprits. Even if they heap ashes on their heads, it will not be enough.

Bulgaria remembers 1921. Then, the fascists set fire to the party building for the first time. It did not prevent the party from reviving. Now, the year is different, but the fire is the same. Once again dark forces are attempting to repeat the events of 1921. They know that 1921 was followed by 1923, 1925, and all those years of terror in which attempts were made to turn the idea of socialism to ashes. The efforts were in vain. The idea will continue to exist, despite everything. The idea is a flame stronger than all other flames. The fascists and their present-day followers have never realized the power of this flame, and in this lies their drama. However, their drama always turned into a drama for the whole people. This is why the repetition of arsonist frenzy is frightening. This is why it takes us back to the past and promises nothing good for us in the future.

In one of the burned-out rooms on the second floor of the party building, a picture by Nayden Petkov lies forgotten on the floor. It is a splendid picture of cypresses in moonlight, the work of a marvelous artist in his favorite palette of brown tints. By the picture lie some smashed spectacles and a burned book. It is hardly possible to find a more fitting still life representation of the barbarity. The legs which stamped on the picture and the spectacles did not belong to angels. They were the bluish legs painted by Hieronymus Bosch, which the old master drew to condemn the coarseness of man. Regrettably, these legs are now marching about Sofia. Tomorrow they may enter the most peaceful home. The people will curse us if we allow this.

A living house has been turned to ashes, but let no one delude himself into thinking that this will burn to ashes the souls of millions of people. Quite the reverse, fire breeds fire. Violence gives strength. Those who were supposed to be burned out today are stronger than they were yesterday. No one can delude or deceive them any longer. Many people had a hand in this shameful fire through the intoxication created by rallies. Self-respecting people pointed to the party building and cried: "There it is, lads! That is your target!" Now they are all hiding, staying silent behind declarations, behind statements of dissociation, behind news conferences, behind things left unsaid. They include all kinds of people, ranging from well-known political leaders, writers, professors, artists, sociologists, and theatrical performers to the most common imposters and hooligans. They hide or remain silent because they are afraid of what they have done. The flames licking up the stone walls singed their enthusiasm. May the fire that they started bring them to their senses. May they bow their heads in embarrassment. We will not mention the word conscience, because it is a weighty word.

The night of 26 August will go down in the history of Bulgarian democracy. One day, people will certainly point to is as a night of fire and a night of enlightenment. May there never be a repetition of such a night. Bulgaria, our mother, does not want to burn!

Women, Children Return From Iraq, Laud Treatment

AU0409065790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0600 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] A group of 117 Bulgarian women and children returned from Iraq, via Amman, to Sofia early this morning. Our colleague Petur Dimovski spoke with two of our compatriots, Snezhina Kirilova and Elena Mikhaylova.

[Begin recording] [Dimovski] How was the trip?

[Kirilova] Well, the trip was calm, everything was organized. We were a bit worried, but we are alive and well.

[Dimovski] Is the entire family now together?

[Kirilova] Well, almost.

[Dimovski] Did somebody remain there?

[Kirilova] Where, there?

[Dimovski] Yes.

[Kirilova] My husband.

[Dimovski] How do you feel now after arriving here?

[Kirilova] I am not completely calm, because I am alone. I am not with my husband. I hope that he also will return.

[Dimovski] Did you also just arrive?

[Mikhaylova] Yes.

[Dimovski] Did somebody from your family remain there?

[Mikhaylova] Yes, my husband remained. He works there.

[Dimovski] Where does he work?

[Mikhaylova] At the Transcomplex Company.

[Dimovski] How do you assess the attitude of the Iraqi authorities? Were there cases of rough treatment?

[Mikhaylova] No, on the contrary. There were no such cases and our trip was well-organized. Everything was well-organized and we are very pleased. We are a bit tired, but this is all. Otherwise everything was normal and we did not experience anything negative on the part of the Arabs.

[Dimovski] Did you see other refugees at the border?

[Mikhaylova] Yes, there were many refugees, but we passed without stopping. We even did not leave the buses. Everything was well-organized. We saw Red Cross workers who were distributing water to Pakistanis, Indians, and so forth. We also saw tents on the Jordanian side of the border. However, we passed directly, and I again emphasize, without leaving the buses.

[Dimovski] How do you assess our embassy's activity?

[Mikhaylova] Our embassy acted very well. They coped ideally with the situation. Let us hope that they will do the same for our husbands. [end recording]

I sincerely hope that this will happen as soon as possible.

Crisis Creating 'Serious Problems' in Oil Supply

AU3108193390 Sofia BTA in English 1824 GMT 31 Aug 90

["Gulf Crisis Gives Bulgaria Serious Problems"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 31 Aug (BTA)—The Petrochemical Combined Works in Burgas operated at half capacity in August, according to sources in the works management. As a result, only 2,000 tons of gasoline have been available daily, and this is half of the required amount. Hundreds of motor cars are queuing for hours at the filling stations to get the scarce fuel.

The agreed delivery of 600,000 tons of Soviet oil will arrive in September but a lot more is needed to normalize supply.

Bulgaria suffers considerable damage from the Gulf crisis. Iraq owes this country 1,500 million dollars which it used to repay in oil shipments. As a result, Bulgaria is losing 140,000 tons of Iraqi oil and more than 160 million dollars' worth of unrealized trade, construction and engineering work in Iraq. In addition, under an agreement signed before the sanctions were imposed, the Soviet Union has to deliver to Bulgaria 2.5 million tons of Iraqi oil, and it is not clear whether it will be able to supply Soviet oil instead.

Fuel Shortages in Sofia Surveyed

AU3108184690 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 27 Aug 90

[Petur Iliev article: "An Encounter With the Specter of Cold Awaits Us"]

[Excerpt] In the whirlwind of galloping inflation, prices will rise, the store shelves will empty, and it will be increasingly difficult for the ordinary Bulgarian to find the money to survive. As the summer comes to its end, we are faced with yet another problem, namely fuel supplies. Will we be able to heat our dwellings, or will the specter of cold rise up to its full height before us, in addition to the shortages of food products? For an answer to this question, we approached the management of the "Fuel and Construction Materials" Enterprise, which provided us with data on the situation in Sofia. (We hope to be able to publish information about the situation elsewhere in the country in later issues.)

The negotiations for fuel deliveries are conducted at the start of the year. The quantities sold during the preceding year are used as a basis for the applications. In 1989, the fuel sales in Sofia were as follows: coal, 187,169 tonnes; liquefied gas, 15,100 tonnes; and gas oil, 78,500 tonnes. It should be borne in mind that during the whole of December 1989 there was no gas or gas oil, and the situation with coal supplies was critical. Accordingly, the "Fuel and Construction Materials" Enterprise contracted to supply the following quantities in 1990: coal, 183,000 tonnes; liquefied gas, 17,800 tonnes; and gas oil, 84,500 tonnes. However, contracts are one thing, and fulfillment of deliveries are quite another. So far, 105,500 tonnes of coal have been delivered, but enriched coal is no longer on sale. The main suppliers—the G. Dimitrov enterprise in Pernik, and the Pirin and Bobovdol Mines—have considerable difficulties with their plant equipment and high labor turnover, and are unlikely to fulfill their assumed obligations. All hopes are centered on fuel briquettes. The managers of the "Fuel and Construction Materials" Enterprise hope that the Maritsa-East Briquette Plant will overfulfill its plan, but what will happen if it fails to do so? The enterprise is relying on imports from Germany, but if the latter fails to deliver following reunification, it will be necessary to pay for the imports with foreign currency which we do not have. The problem is made worse because it is expected that, as a result of the rise in the prices of gas and gas oil and the expected shortages of liquid fuels, many people will change over to coal and briquettes.

With regard to gas and gas oil, the situation is really deplorable. Although a contract was signed to supply 17,800 tonnes of liquefied gas, owing to the fault of the producer, on 21 August this quantity was reduced to 11,800 tonnes. However, 6,400 tonnes of gas have already been sold during the first seven months of the year.

The position is similar with gas oil. In May the contracted quantity was reduced by 7,000 tonnes (with the

producer again to blame). One should bear in mind that consumer demand begins developing from now on. Here we should remember that the responsibility for the emerging shortage does not lie with the "Fuel and Construction Materials" Enterprise, which is a trading organization, nor even with the producer. The main problems are the lack of raw materials, overstocking by consumers, and the growing speculation, especially with liquid fuels. [passage omitted]

Sugar Rationing Begins in Sofia; More Expected

AU0309195190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Sep 90 p 2

[Boryana Buchvarova report: "Coupon No. 1 Is for Sugar"]

[Text] As of today, Sofia's "foodstuffs" stores will exchange one kg of sugar for one No. 1 coupon. Some 1,200 tonnes of sugar have already been stored in 478 previously determined stores. The supply process continues. The People's Council in Sofia assured us that every coupon is backed by the appropriate quantity of foodstuffs. Therefore, the population of Sofia was requested to refrain from forming long lines during the first days of the rationing.

Some 920,000 coupons have been distributed so far. The 35 percent of Sofia citizens who have not taken their coupons can do so next week.

The citizens may purchase sugar from any store in the capital which has it. The decision not to restrict purchasing to specific municipalities was prompted by the fact that the traffic in Sofia is great, and for some people it is more convenient to shop where they live, while for others, where they work or travel.

When some stores exhaust their stock of sugar, they will receive a new supply.

It is difficult to determine how long this kg of sugar should last. This will also depend on the quantity of sugar in the warehouses.

In the very near future cooking oil will also be purchased with coupons. As is known, the problem with cooking oil is not the quantity, but rather the packing.

The sale of detergents has stopped in order to accumulate the necessary quantity for the coupons. It is assumed that the same measure will be applied to the sale of white and yellow cheese.

Lack of Payment Keeping Sugar on Ships

AU0109185990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Aug 90 p 1

[Text] Varna, 29 Aug (DUMA correspondent Nikolay Zhelev)—The cargo of Cuban sugar from the ship "Slavyanka" was supposed to have been sent three days ago by rail cars and trucks to the plants in Devnya, Lom, Gorna Oryakhovitsa, Plovdiv, and Dolna Mitropoliya, but alas, the ship continues to sit in Varna West Port with its 23,000-tonne cargo.

"The reason is the Khraneksport Trade Association will not pay for the shipping charges," Boris Terziev, director of the Devnya plant, told me.

"It does not pay because it has no foreign currency," representatives of the "Tramp Steamer" Department of the Bulgarian Merchant Fleet Company added. "The association already owes us about $4 million. Under the new conditions, this is intolerable. It is leading our company toward bankruptcy."

A Thai ship with a cargo of Thai sugar, which should have been delivered to the refineries long ago, has been standing in Varna West Port for over two weeks, also owing to the Bulgarian side's inability to pay. In this case, however, as I was told by the Varna office of Khraneksport, $7 million dollars are needed, as the sugar has to be paid for as well.

Thus, a total of 70,000 tonnes of raw sugar is standing in the port and waiting. The Bulgarian Merchant Fleet Company has begun to issue threats that if they fail to receive the money from Khraneksport within a new weeks, they will have to sell the sugar to other countries.

The opinion has already been formed that the problem with the sugar has become sufficiently large for the government to take it into its hands. It is beyond the powers of Khraneksport to deal with it.

Defense Ministry Denies Possessing Atomic Warhead

AU3108192490 Sofia BTA in English 1749 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 31 Aug (BTA)—The Bulgarian People's Army has no and has never had any nuclear warheads, says an announcement of the Ministry of National Defence made available to the BTA. The announcement refutes the allegations of foreign politicians about the "presence of nuclear warheads in Bulgaria."

The Bulgarian Army has tactical missile launchers, including eight SS-23's with a range of 500 km. The launchers were delivered by the Soviet Union in 1986, they are Bulgarian property and are not covered by the provisions of the INF Treaty.

Bulgaria has made repeated formal announcements about these launchers. They are supplied with a definite number of conventionally-armed missiles, the announcement says.

The announcement was broadcast on television after U.S. Senator E. Jake Garn (Republican, Utah) made a statement describing the "presence of Soviet SS-23 missiles in Bulgaria as a problem in Bulgarian-U.S. relations."

Union of Examing Magistrates Meets in Congress

AU0109183890 Sofia BTA in English 1813 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 1 Sep (BTA)—Today was held the constituent congress of the Union of Examining Magistrates in Bulgaria. This first syndical-creative organization of the investigation authorities embraces over 80 per cent of their employees as it was noted in the adopted program documents. It is a non-political, independent organization based on the professional principle. Its main objectives will be the representation and protection of the professional, creative and social interests of its members, the raising of this profession's social prestige, democratic development of the normative organization of investigation labour.

The congress discussed and approved a draft for a general agreement between the newly founded union and the leaderships of the ministry of interior and the chief investigation board, reflecting the establishment of a new type of relations. An address-declaration to the president of the Republic and to the chairman of the Grand National Assembly was also adopted in which the adoption of a law on the national investigation services is rendered special attention.

Shumen Citizens Seek Asylum From French Embassy

AU0309114490 Sofia BTA in English 0940 GMT 3 Sep 90

["Request for Political Asylum"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 3 Sep (BTA)—The citizens of the Town of Truth which existed until recently in Shumen have sent a declaration to the Embassy of France requesting political asylum. Their motives are "the mob law treatment of the citizens of the Towns of Truth throughout the country after the arson of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Headquarters." The attempt for mob law treatment of the citizens of the ex-tent camp of the Town of Truth in Shumen is also mentioned.

Signed by nine people, the declaration expresses concern over the inviolability and life of the ex-inhabitants of the Town of Truth and there is a request addressed to the ambassador and the Government of France for "political asylum which should guarantee the safety of the persons and their human dignity."

SDS Rejects CPSU Declaration, Explains Moves

AU0309193590 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Sep (BTA)—The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) believes that the declaration of the Secretariat of the CC [Central Committee] of the CPSU in connection with the arson of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Supreme Council headquarters is an interference in Bulgaria's internal affairs, Mr. Mikhayl Nedelchev, spokesman for the SDS, told a news conference here today.

The SDS leadership learnt about the declaration from the summaries which have appeared in the Bulgarian press and has approached the USSR Embassy here with a request for the original text. Mr. Nedelchev pointed out that the opposition is perplexed by the fact that the events in the night of August 27 have given "such a major party" an occasion to declare its view of what happened in Bulgaria when it has never before passed judgment on the events in the rest of the East European countries. "To us, this is an attempt to reintegrate us with the communist family," Mr. Nedelchev said.

The SDS spokesman said that today the union's leadership decided to make the "DEMOKRATSIYA" daily a publication of the SDS Coordinating Council instead of an opposition daily, as it used to be. The journalist Mrs. Rumyana Uzunova, currently working for Radio Free Europe, has been appointed editor-in-chief of the newspaper, and Mr. Georgi Spasov, M.P. of the SDS and until recently SDS spokesman, was appointed political director. The publication of the "DEMOKRATSIYA" newspaper is taken over by an editorial board which will comprise one representative of each party and organization affiliated to the union. Until now the editor-in-chief was Mr. Yordan Vasilev and the director was Mr. Petko Simeonov. The SDS spokesman explained that the changes in the newspaper's management were necessitated by the fact that Mr. Yordan Vasilev is an M.P. and Mr. Petko Simeonov was extremely busy as deputy chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council in charge of the election campaign and as president of the SDS-affiliated Federation of Glasnost and Democracy Clubs.

Talks Held With USSR on CFE, CSCE Talks

AU3108191990 Sofia BTA in English 1831 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 31 Aug (BTA)—Bulgaria and the Soviet Union held consultations in Sofia on the Conventional Forces in Europe talks and on the talks on Confidence and Security-Building Measures and Security in Europe.

The Bulgarian delegation was led by Mr. Stefan Staykov, deputy minister of foreign affairs. The Soviet delegation was headed by Mr. Viktor Karpov, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The two delegations included representatives of the two countries' Defence Ministries.

The Soviet delegation was received by General Atanas Semerdzhiev, vice president of the Republic.

Lukanov Discusses Pollution With Romania's Roman

AU3108171990 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 30 Aug 90 p 2

[Text] Sofia, 29 Aug (BTA)—The Council of Ministers has provided the following information to BTA:

Today Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, had a telephone conversation with Petre

Roman, his Romanian counterpart. The conversation was related to the recent cases of gas emissions in Ruse stemming from the chemical plant in Giurgiu.

An agreement was achieved to quickly investigate those cases in the spirit of the agreements reflected in the protocol on the July 1990 meeting of the two countries' prime ministers.

It also was decided to conduct an international experts' investigation on those aspects of the ecological situation in the area of Ruse and Giurgiu, on which no total agreement was reached during the meetings of the two countries' experts.

In the near future Andrey Lukanov and Petre Roman will meet again on this matter.

President Zhelev Receives Visiting UN Official

AU0309194590 Sofia BTA in English 1747 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Sep (BTA)—Mr. Yasushi Akashi, under secretary general of the United Nations for disarmament affairs, commended highly Bulgaria's principled stand on the Gulf crisis and this country's joining of the world body sanctions against Iraq.

Mr. Yasushi Akashi, who arrived here today to attend an international seminar on confidence building at sea and naval disarmament, told Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of Bulgaria, that the United Nations can well understand the Bulgarian economic problems arising from the accession to the UN sanctions.

The sides also considered questions concerning global and regional disarmament.

The Bulgarian head of state told his guest that he will soon confer with the UN leadership in New York and with heads of other states attending the 45th Session of the UN General Assembly.

Zhelev To Address UN Assembly 2 Oct

AU3108162390 Sofia BTA in English 1504 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 31 Aug (BTA)—The president of the Republic Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev will attend the session of the United Nations General Assembly after September 25, and on October 2 he will deliver a speech there, the spokesman for the president told the press today.

Lukanov Briefed by IMF on Membership Schedule

AU3108113090 Sofia BTA in English 1023 GMT 31 Aug 90

["Bulgaria Will Be Admitted in the International Monetary Fund"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 31 Aug (BTA)—Bulgaria's admittance in the International Monetary Fund is on the agenda. This is the impression left by the visit here of the International Monetary Fund representative Mr. Godard Posthumous, who briefed today Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov on the development of matters related with Bulgaria's admittance in the fund.

In a statement made for the BTA Mr. Posthumous expressed hope that Bulgaria will be admitted as member of the International Monetary Fund at the fund forthcoming annual assembly in Washington. He said that "a Committee on Bulgaria" has already been formed in the fund management. It is expected that in the near future the committee will raise a proposal about the amount of this country's participation in the International Monetary Fund.

We have no prescriptions about the Bulgarian economy healing, Mr. Posthumous said in reply to a question. He specified that the International Monetary Fund jointly with Bulgarian experts is in a process of survey of the specificity of Bulgaria's economic problems.

SDS' Beron Visits Japan; Stability Precludes Aid

AU0309194790 Sofia BTA in English 1758 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Tokyo, 3 Sep (BTA correspondent)—Mr. Petur Beron, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), arrived in Tokyo today as the official Bulgarian representative for the national day of Bulgaria at the Expo-90 International Exhibition.

On the first day of his visit he conferred with Mr. Kazuo Haruna, chairman of the Japanese Committee for Economic Cooperation with Bulgaria and president of the Marubeni Corporation, and with Mr. Ishimatsu Kitagawa, minister of state and director-general of the Japanese Environment Agency. The sides considered the domestic and economic situation in Bulgaria and the prospects for cooperation with Japan. Mr. Kazuo Haruna said that a political stabilization is a foremost priority for Bulgaria at this stage as a prerequisite for a successful solution of the economic problems. He said that Japan wholeheartedly supports the democratization policy in Bulgaria and that the Japanese business circles are ready to render the necessary assistance for a faster transition to a market economy.

Mr. Petur Beron assured his host that the political situation in Bulgaria will soon stabilize.

Mr. Beron briefed Mr. Kitagawa on the problems concerning environmental protection in Bulgaria and expressed the hope that Japan will help their solution mostly by supplying know-how and technologies.

Adamec Resigns as Communist Party Chairman

LD0109131290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Ladislav Adamec asked at today's session of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee to be released from the post of chairman of this party. He gave his state of health as the reason for his decision, and at the same time he said he wished to devote all his energy to fulfilling his duties as a deputy. The Central Committee granted his request.

Morita Named as Replacement

LD0209162390 Prague CTK in English 1534 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Prague Sept 2 (CTK)—Vasil Mohorita, Czechoslovak Communist Party first secretary, was charged today to be also the party's chairman following the resignation from the post yesterday of Ladislav Adamec.

This decision was made at the two-day 6th session of the party Central Committee which ended at Celakovice near here today. Vasil Mohorita will hold the two posts until the party's 18th congress due here on November 3-4.

The party Central Committee today approved a draft new organizational order of the Federation of Communist Parties of Czechoslovakia to be submitted for discussion, just as draft material for the party's Congress deliberations.

The Central Committee enjoined the executive committee of the party to discuss with particular party bodies the slow pace in solving property questions. The party has thus far handed over to the society property worth 6,622,900,000 crowns. This question, sharply followed by the public, must be quickly and fully solved, the session stressed. The question of returning property to the society applies also to other parties, especially those active under the former communist regime, and mass organizations.

Federal Assembly Session Scheduled for 18 Sep

AU2808133890 Prague PRACE in Czech 23 Aug 90 p 1

[CTK report: "The Deputies' Vacations Will Only End in September"]

[Text] Prague—According to information received by CTK from the Department of Press and Information of the Federal Assembly Office, the officials of the Federal Assembly, chaired by Alexander Dubcek, discussed on 23 August until evening the organizational preparations for a joint session of the People's Chamber and of the Chamber of Nations, which should meet on 18 September 1990. This joint session should be preceded by a meeting of the Federal Assembly Presidium on 30 August. This meeting will, inter alia, deal with the report by the federal premier on the meeting of the governments' representatives in Trencianske Teplice. The parliamentary committees will begin their operation as of 28 August. According to information from the Office of the president of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, Vaclav Havel will call the fall session of the Federal Assembly commencing 17 September 1990.

Communique From Federal Government 23 Aug Session

AU2808135490 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 24 Aug 90 p 8

[CTK report: "From the Communique on the Federal Government Session"]

[Text] Prague—According to the communique issued on yesterday's CSFR Government session, the wholesale price of oil and oil-based products will not be amended on 1 September as envisaged in government Resolution No. 489 adopted on 17 July, but will be altered within the framework of the liberalization of prices after 1 January. The government made this decision because the previous price increases for gasoline, motor oils, and some other products meant the complicated planned administrative operation would, in fact, only concern seven percent of oil-based products and can, therefore, wait for a systematic solution.

Yesterday the government approved a draft Federal Assembly Presidium legal measure which should extend the moratorium on the property owned by political parties, political movements, and social organizations until a special law amending these property relations is adopted. The validity of the current moratorium was limited until 30 September.

The government supported a request from the Czechoslovak chambers of trade and industry to join the Association of International Trade Centers. Two centers will be established in Prague and Bratislava. Membership in the association will also provide access to the appropriate international business information.

The government listened to a report on the continuing negotiations about our trade exchange with the Soviet Union. It decided that its completion should be entrusted to Vaclav Vales, federal deputy premier, following the death of Slavomir Stracar.

The federal government also expressed its agreement with the CSFR's approach toward the Agreement on Cooperation in Patent Policy. International patent membership within the framework of the agreement provides protection in all the member states so that considerable hard currency overheads are saved on the system in each country. Apart from this, the agreement provides its members with more advantageous time limits. Naturally, members are obliged to strictly respect the regulations contained in the international law on patents. After

the Federal Assembly expresses its agreement with the proposal, the president of the republic can sign the agreement.

At the end of the session, the government was briefed on the course of the evacuation of our citizens from Kuwait and Iraq. All Czechoslovak citizens who wanted to have already left Kuwait. Those who left by road are now in Ankara.

Havel Meets Slovak Journalists 22 Aug

AU2808130290 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Aug 90 p 1

["(NO)" signed report: "Slovak Journalist Meet Vaclav Havel"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday afternoon at Prague Castle, Vaclav Havel, CSFR president, received representatives of Slovak central dailies and journals and representatives of the Slovak Syndicate of Journalists. A cordial debate concentrated mostly on relations between Czechs and Slovaks and reaction to them in the Czech and Slovak newspapers. It was unequivocally stated that the absence of mutual acquaintance and reliable information are fertile soil for demagogy and for fueling passions—separatism, as well as chauvinism and Czechoslovakism. The road to an authentic federation leads through full respect for national sovereignty in our common federative state. Professionalism and the journalistic ethics must become the basis of a democratic journalism. Mutual availability of information should eliminate the distortions of history and of our nations' contemporary life as well. The president expressed his full support for the efforts made by both national syndicates of journalists and the journalist community. Juraj Veres, NARODNA OBRODA chief editor, and the members of the NARODNA OBRODA Editorial Circle—Milan Simecka, chairman of the Council of Consultants to the president, and Jan Comaj, Slovak Republic Press and Information Department director—also participated in the meeting.

Anonymous Letter Threatens Havel; Author Detained

AU3108132190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Aug 90 p 2

["(mur-pm)"-signed report: "Would-Be Assassin Detained]

[Text] Banska Bystrica—On the eve of the celebrations of the 46th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising, the agents of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy in Banska Bystrica managed to detain the author of an anonymous letter threatening President Vaclav Havel with physical harm during his stay in southern Slovakia. The suspect admitted that he was motivated to write the letter by an article in the weekly SLOVAK. The article made him believe that the Charter 77 signatories sold out Slovakia to the Hungarians. He sent a similar letter to the premier of the Slovak Republic and demanded that, in addition to the president, other constitutional officials be tried in a court of law. The fact that the author of the threatening letters resides outside Central Slovakia testifies to the speed of the operation by the defenders of the law.

Parties Discuss Topical Political Issues

LD2808210990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Today representatives of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy, Czechoslovak Socialist Party, and the Green Party discussed in Prague some topical questions on the current political life of our society. They noted that the delayed preparation of the communal elections markedly threatens their good and democratic progress within the planned deadline, that is, November of the current year. They also expressed apprehension about the underestimation of the questions of state unity and rights of peoples and nationalities on the part of the executive and legislative organs. Therefore, they want to maintain lasting informal contacts, perhaps with the participation of other invited democratic forces and movements, for the purpose of exchanging opinions and formulating viewpoints on significant questions of society and the state.

Former Liberal Party Officials Prosecuted

AU2908065590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Aug 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Obstructing the Course of the Elections"]

[Text] Bratislava—As we have reported recently, criminal proceedings have been initiated against the former officials of the National Liberal Party—Milos Lauk, Pavel Pochyly, Jr., and Marian Hul—in the matter of falsifying signatures on petition records constituting the punishable act of obstructing the course of the elections. During an investigation, important facts were found, arousing suspicion that more than 100,000 korunas had been defrauded from the state subsidy designated for the election campaign. On 22 August 1990, Milos Lauk was charged with fraud and the Bratislava city prosecutor has ordered that he be taken into custody.

Head of Antiterrorist Squad on Threat of Terrorism

AU2808142190 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 23 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with a lieutenant colonel, identified only as K.D., director of the Rapid Deployment Unit, "the Federal Interior Ministry's antiterrorist squad," by Rostislav Rod, place and date not given: "Who Is a Potential Target of an Attack?"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Rod] General Vorobyev [the commander of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia] stated in February that he can rule out that Soviet soldiers sell weapons to our people. Yet the terrorist in the Piestany maternity ward [reference to a recent hostage-taking perpetrated by a jealous husband to enforce the return of his estranged wife] had Soviet hand grenades.

[K.D.] The Piestany incident shows best how easy it is to get hold of Soviet weapons. We have information that it is easy to gain access even to machine guns and other firearms. We are already taking some countermeasures. I do not want to anticipate anything but, if we succeed, the public will be able to look on as we prove Soviet officers guilty.

[Rod] Fortunately, all the cases with which the antiterrorist squad has had to deal so far were cases of so-called internal terrorism, which, one might say, had certain elements of amateurism....

[K.D.] We have already received warnings—from the German, Austrian, and Italian sides—of terrorism of an international caliber. [passage omitted] In addition to these reports, they have forceful arguments to buttress them. The former leadership of our state had a sort of tacit agreement with the Arab world that no terrorist act would be committed in Czechoslovakia. This was naturally not free of charge. Whole terrorist groups were able to cross our country freely, meeting here to coordinate their future action. Most of the time, their stay here was camouflaged and called spa treatment and such things. Today, as we no longer permit these stays and travels, there exist no guarantees [that no acts of terrorism will be carried out on Czechoslovak territory]. The risk is growing, also because they are so familiar with our territory. Moreover, the police force in our country is being reorganized and does not always function as well as it should.

[Rod] What could be the motive behind these attacks?

[K.D.] [passage omitted] I do not believe that these attacks could be directed against our people. The most likely aim will be to use our relatively known and less dangerous territory to carry out a demonstrative act against a third country. [passage omitted] I also believe that there could even be clashes between individual terrorist organizations here.

[Rod] How do you intend to resist this danger?

[K.D.] The entire squad has been reinforced and the system of training and the entire structure of the unit have changed. Our technical equipment, too, is being complemented because [the lack of] gear and equipment of the appropriate standard is our most vulnerable spot. It might be said, with a bit of exaggeration, that how quickly we will manage to prepare ourselves for an attack and deter it is only a question of finances. Our unit has drafted a proposal for combating terrorism throughout Czechoslovakia in a uniform way. This proposal will soon be discussed at the Federal Ministry of Interior. [passage omitted]

[Rod] Foreign intelligence will most likely be subordinated to the federal government. Internal intelligence, which will be the domain of the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy, will be under the control of parliament. Where will you get your information to prevent terrorist attacks?

[K.D.] My reasoning is as follows: Terrorism-related intelligence should be part and parcel of the Rapid Deployment Unit. Other intelligence components, including the Army's general staff and counterintelligence, too, will operate in a strictly defined direction and with limited powers. In between all these components there will be a center, to which all information will be channeled. The center, similarly as in other countries, will coordinate the mutual exchange of information. Every state component will learn only as much as it needs to know for its specialized activity. This will reduce the possibility of the information being misused. Within this structure, the Rapid Deployment Unit would represent the unit which would deal with the issue of terrorism in its entirety—starting with initial information gathering and ending with intervention.

Interior Ministry Urged To Act in Orfei Case

AU2808085590 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 23 Aug 90 p 1

[Marcela Pechackova Rome dispatch: " 'Some Czechoslovak'; MLADA FRONTA's Correspondent on the Track of the Orfei Affair"]

[Text] Professor Ruggero Orfei [foreign policy adviser to former Italian Premier de Mita, who has been accused of cooperation with the Czechoslovak secret service] has entrenched himself in his Rome apartment. His telephone is being picked up by his son, who steadfastly refuses to answer any questions from journalists, apparently because it was journalists who set off the affair, called the "Orfei case," which has been filling the front pages of the Italian press since the beginning of August.

All Italian suspects, the most prominent of whom is political scientist Orfei, adviser to former Premier de Mita, are denying, on the pages of the Italian press, that they cooperated with Czechoslovak counterintelligence. The courts have taken up the case, for several reasons. They will try, among other things, to expose the channels through which the press got wind of the case. People speak openly here about a 500-page "fascicle" of a Czechoslovak spy describing his contacts with several Italian citizens.

As I learned from a source which does not wish to be named, parts of the fascicle provide, in very official language, utterly commonplace and banal information on Italian political and social life. In a truly Czech fashion, every entry is meticulously supplemented with

notes on the cost of every dinner, gasoline, etc.... The [Italian] journalists are gradually abandoning their original assumption that the fascicle was made available to SISMI, Italian military counterintelligence, and to the Italian Government by the Czechoslovak Ministry of Interior through official channels. They now suspect "some Czechoslovak" who was until recently an official at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Rome.

This seems to be very plausible. The question is whether he sold the meticulously kept records of his approximately two years of activity of his own accord or whether they found their way into the hands of the Italian authorities in some other way. It certainly should not be a problem for our police to expose this "some Czechoslovak." It is certain that he speaks good Italian and that he worked in a position which allowed him to meet persons who are not insignificant. The banal and commonplace nature of the information he collected is in accord with counterintelligence practices, at the heart of which lies the acquisition of the largest possible amount of any kind of information. Of interest in this context is the "admission" of an Italian journalist who concedes, in an article on the Orfei case in the daily LA REPUBBLICA, that he, too, may well have fallen victim to Soviet counterintelligence because he used to meet a Soviet NOVOSTI journalist from time to time and, prior to the disappearance of this Ivan, used to have friendly chats on all kinds of things with him.

Of course, if our secret police wanted to obtain information about planned steps of Italian politics it could have used a source that was much closer, right in Prague. It is an open secret that for many years the Italian Embassy in Prague financed its operating costs by illegal currency trade, on which our StB [State Security Corps] cast a blind eye for all these years. Did it do this selflessly and for nothing?

The Orfei case is, most likely, chiefly an internal Italian affair and an opportunity for settling accounts within the Christian Democratic Party. However, the Czechoslovak side should not ignore the matter indulgently. I believe that it should not be a problem for the Ministry of Interior to find out which of its employees trades with documents.

Czech Premier's Address on Federation

LD3108220190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1925 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Radio and television address by Czech Premier Petr Pithart, date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens, just as my colleague, Mr. Meciar, premier of the Slovak Republic, addressed the Slovak National Council on 27 August, I will address the deputies of the Czech National Council on 4 September. In short, the Czech parliamentary recess was one week longer. It should not be deduced from this that we are losing the initiative, or that we are not decisive enough. Decisiveness does not consist in long or strong words, and definitely not in strident ones—at this point I am thinking of those who advise me that it is time to thump the table. Decisiveness means sticking to your position and insisting that your partners in the talks keep their word.

From the very outset the initiative came from us. It was the Czech Government that convened the first meeting of the two governments in Lnare, and the Czech Government that convened the meeting of government leaders and economic ministers in Luhacovice. It was also our endeavor—and not only a Slovak endeavor, therefore—from the start to restructure the centralized and bureaucratic federation which was given its current form not on 28 October 1968, but in the period of the onset of normalization in 1970.

It was the federal government, and not the Government of the Slovak Republic, which convened the meeting in Trencianske Teplice, which was described unfortunately and quite misleadingly the evening before by television as a summit. Since that time we have been accused by journalists of conducting politics behind closed doors. If it really had been a summit, then they would be right, but in fact it was a working meeting, a meeting to decide which issues, following the January form of the federation, should be entrusted to groups of experts from them to assess from all possible points of view, to present to their national legislatures, and finally to the Federal Assembly.

I hope that you too noticed that in his address to the Slovak National Council Mr. Meciar said that nothing which we proposed at Trencianske Teplice necessarily has to be approved, approved exactly as proposed by one, the other, or the third party. Mr. Meciar spoke very resolutely, which is something that bothers many people here. On the other hand, I am impressed by the way in which he thus energetically responds to his domestic opposition, the nationalists and separatists. The Czech Government is in solidarity with him in this effort.

The situation in Slovakia is simply different from that in the Czech lands, and this is something which, unfortunately, many people are unable to grasp. They are unable to grasp that this is the case because the Slovaks are different from the Bohemians, the Moravians, and the Silesians. They have always been different and will always be so. They are not and nor will they be Czechs who speak Slovak. That is also why the concern for a common state must be different here than it is in Slovakia. Our concern is to stick energetically and calmly to our own position, and of course to defend Czech interests. But in Lnare, Luhacovice, and Trencianske Teplice we did not push for and achieve even one satisfactory solution to such a sensitive issue in the Czech lands as the autonomy and separation of the two national republican budgets, only to have the Czechs and Slovaks subsequently haggle over who is subsidising whom.

As the Government of the Czech Republic, we insist—and will continue to do so—that changes in the status of this or that ministerial sector are not the main problem. The main issue is to make these sectors superfluous as soon as possible in a market economy. Our economists definitely did not play second fiddle in this endeavor. We also insist—and will continue to do so—that the federation constitutes first and foremost an agreement between those who comprise it, but that it also constitutes somethng more. A federal nation, of course, does not exist, but the citizens and voters in the two republics have elected the deputies to the Federal Assembly and thereby freely decided that their national home is not a ramshackle structure on some windly hilltop, but that it is built into the federal building. This has to be a strong building, but it does not mean that it has to be a fortress of omniscient officials at the center.

My address to the Czech National Council will be about the federation and its future desired form. It will be as precise and specific as possible, because the federation cannot be allowed to become an empty word, or some magic formula which means something different to each one of us. I will probably speak in a rather different way from Mr. Meciar, not only because I am different, but because the Czech Republic is different from the Slovak one, because we Bohemians, Moravians, and Silesians are different from the Slovaks. We must be aware of this difference, call it by its name, and rejoice in it. We are not Siamese twins, nor do we wish to be.

Often we unwittingly identify the Czech Republic with Czechoslovakia, and as a consequence Slovak attitudes appear to us incomprehensible and unacceptable. This applies much more to Bohemia than to Moravia and Silesia. However, if we were the same, there would be no reason to create a federative state because we would not have the opportunity to enrich one another by the very fact that we are different. It is despite—or even because of—this that we gravitate toward one another.

That is why at the present I consider the ability and will to keep one's word as the basis for our future coexistence. This means that we must not present one another with a fait accompli. In Trencianske Teplice we agreed that we would jointly propose certain important changes in the federative setup, but that it would be necessary for our proposals to be thoroughly assessed at the expert level and be democratically approved or rejected. So let us keep our word and not preempt developments.

We also presuppose that the proposals from Tencianske Teplice are not a mere temporarily valid variant and that they represent a perspective for many years to come. By this I want to say that I trust the Slovak Government. Mistrust between us would result in irreparable damage. No constitution and no constitutional court could then hold together a common state.

I repeat: Our attitude is not to thump the table as some agitated people recommend us to do. Political problems in our country will always be resolved in bars, for such is our tradition. Today they are fortunately not tackled in bars alone. Merely to thump the table would mean that pint glasses would not be the only ones to jump. We have a responsibility which you have entrusted to us in free elections, and we do not consider raising our voices unnecessarily when businesslike debate is still continuing.

For this reason both national governments will meet in Piestany on 10 and 11 September. The host, Mr. Meciar, has also invited to the talks Prime Minister Calfa and some representatives of the federal government. Even before that date all three prime ministers are going to meet, and we envisage that the meeting will take place in Kromeriz.

You see therefore that no one wants to act unilaterally. Our task is to formulate the Czech interests and to insist on them. Our priority, in which we are able to rely on a solid Czech tradition, is the self-administration of villages and towns, a developed civic society. Ranking among these interests also is a functioning federation, one that rests on strong and self-assured republics. I am convinced that the Slovak interest is the same, despite the fact that they express it by placing the emphasis on different things. We will strive to achieve this resolutely, but also soberly, and in a busineslike and calm manner. In short, it is not our plan to insult each other.

I am glad to have been able, together with my fellow citizens, to hear and watch on television the speech made to his country's deputies by my colleague. I pressuppose and insist that it will be possible for the citizens of this state to also watch my speech to the deputies of the Czech National Council. Only a well-informed citizen can make comparison; only a well-informed citizen can orient himself politically. The new form of the federation will not be determined either by the Czech or by the Slovak prime minister, or indeed by the Slovak or by the Czech Government. It will be determined by the deputies whom you yourselves have elected.

New Czech Deputy Minister Appointed

AU3008120290 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 29 Aug 90 p 2

["DB"-signed report: "Changes in Vitkovice"]

[Excerpts] Engineer Tomas Pravda has become chairman of the supervisory board of the Vitkovice state enterprise. [passage omitted] Engineer Frantisek Hromek, formerly deputy director in charge of technology, has been entrusted with the management of the enterprise. This was decided by the supervisory board at its first meeting on 24 July [date as published]. Engineer Vitezslav Vasica, formerly the Vitkovice director, has been appointed first deputy minister of engineering and electrotechnical industry of the Czech Republic.

New Political Party Demands Autonomy for Moravia

AU2808082090 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 22 Aug 90 p 4

[CTK report: "About the Status of Moravia"]

[Text] Bratislava—The representatives of the Slovak National Party Central Committee and of the preparatory committee of the Moravian National Party met in Bratislava yesterday [21 August]. The meeting resulted in the following declaration:

1. The question of the autonomous status of Moravia is a matter of concern for the Moravian people. To make this conditional on the agreement by Slovakia is a speculation from which the Slovak National Party dissociates itself.

2. A new state entity may only be constituted in the territory of the present Czech and Slovak Federal Republic from the nation's will.

3. The fundamental programs of both parties are not separatist. They are based on the preamble of the constitutional law 143/1968, which recognizes that the "inalienable laws on self-determination respect, until secession, the sovereignty of each nation, and its right to construct freely the way and form of its national and state life." That means that neither of the participating parties is guilty of antistate activity.

4. Both parties agreed on cooperation.

According to the statement issued to CTK by M. Skocovsky, chairman of the preparatory committee of the Moravian National Party, and by other members of the committee, this party should become the integrating political party for all Moravian movements emphasizing the national issue. The status of Moravia should correspond to that of a strong republic in a state union. The Moravian National Party presses for a referendum on Moravia, in which the inhabitants of Moravia should comment on the question of autonomy and existence of the Moravian nation. This referendum should be conducted by 29 October of this year at the latest.

Discusses Future Administration

AU2808164890 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Miroslav Rychter, chairman of the Moravian Civic Movement, by Josef Jirek; place and date not given: "The Moravian Voters' Disappointment and Mixed Feelings"]

[Text] The issue surrounding the state's future administration was also discussed at Wednesday's [22 August] session of the Czech parliament. Deputies representing the Movement for Autonomous Democracy came up with enterprising proposals at the session. At the same time, they gave a briefing on the situation in Moravia—which is grave—where, in their opinion, strong nationalistic tendencies are becoming apparent. Dr. Miroslav Rychter, chairman of the Moravian Civic Movement, gave us his view of the situation.

[Jirek] What do Moravian voters think of the work being carried out by parliament?

[Rychter] The elections have indicated that Moravians feel a strong need for the immediate rectification of the lingering deformations, both in the constitutional arrangement and in the economy. However, almost three months have passed since the elections and the most senior representative organs have still not adopted any fundamental law in this regard; they have not even established rules for the development of the market economy, for private enterprise, or for our overall prosperity. This does not only apply to the federation, but also applies to its natural territorial units in which Moravia plays an important role. The talks conducted so far by the most supreme legislative bodies do not correspond to the preelection promises. Therefore, the approval of high salaries for deputies and the subsequent parliamentary recess have aroused mixed feelings and bitterness, first and foremost, among Moravian voters who are disappointed by the course of action adopted by their representatives in our parliaments.

[Jirek] Does development point toward the establishment of a nationalist party?

[Rychter] At the moment, it is impossible to talk directly about a nationalist party. A preparatory committee for the establishment of a Moravian National Party, following the Slovak National Party's example, has just been set up in Brno. It is now drafting its policy statement and is collecting the signatures necessary for its registration. The establishment of another party, whose central activity will be oriented toward an association of all democratic forces and their coordination in asserting justified Moravian interests, is also being considered. As opposed to the party mentioned above—which it will, obviously, cooperate with—this party will not just highlight nationalist aspects. Its preparatory committee is currently being established in Brno. Although its name is still being discussed, a suggestion that it be called the Moravian National Democratic Party [Moravska narodne demokraticka strana] has the most support.

[Jirek] Apparently a strike alert has been declared in southern Moravia. What do you know about this?

[Rychter] Although there is profound dissatisfaction among the Moravian population with parliament's policy on issues concerned with Moravia's status, no such strike alert—as far as I am aware—has been declared. Only constructive discussions involving the most senior legislative bodies can calm the atmosphere. A public discussion on how to enshrine the status of Moravia and Moravians in the Czechoslovak Federation would also contribute toward the situation. The results of the discussion could then become the elementary basis

for a new constitutional arrangement. A recent sociological survey carried out by staff at Masaryk University has confirmed that the overwhelming majority of respondents are in favor of a "tripartite" republican arrangement, whether on the principle of federal countries or of three national units.

[Jirek] Thank you for the interview.

Demands Recognition of Moravian Nationality

AU3108131590 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 29 Aug 90 pp 2,3

[CTK report: "A Word From Moravia"]

[Text] The preparatory committee of the Moravian National Party [Moravska narodni strana] presented a statement to CTK yesterday which states:

The equality of all parts of the Czechoslovak Republic [title as published] is conditional on the right of every citizen to freely avow his nationality. This follows from Constitutional Law No. 144 of 1968 on nationalities. Citizens who consider themselves members of the Moravian nation do not, however, have the opportunity to freely avow their nationality. It is startling that even the new forms prepared for the planned census ignore the existence of a Moravian nationality.

Because of this disregard, there could be a serious distortion of data which is important for decisions of the supreme state bodies and the whole new constitution could be manipulated. The Moravian nation exists. It has been recognized for 1,100 years and has always maintained its identity. It was only the Communists who, starting in 1949, sought its liquidation upon guidance from Moscow. The preparatory committee of the Moravian National Party deems it necessary to eliminate, as soon as possible, all the relics of the past epoch and insists that it finally be made possible—including administratively, through entry in one's identity card—to freely avow the Moravian nationality, particularly in the upcoming census.

Slovak Parties Disagree on National Day

AU2808084290

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 23 August on page 2 carries a 400-word report by Martin Krno entitled "29 August, 19 September, or 1 November?" The report deals with the 22 August session of Slovak National Council committees, which discussed the issue of a Slovak national day. While Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, who spoke on behalf of the Public Against Violence movement, proposed that 1 November, "the day of atonement," be proclaimed as Slovak national day, other parties reportedly objected that Slovakia would become "a rarity" in Europe as it would not select the date of a major historical event as its national day. Deputy Anton Hrnko therefore proposed on behalf of the Slovak National Party to choose 19 September as the republic's national day, to mark the founding of the first Slovak National Party on 19 September 1948. According to Hrnko, this was "the first time in modern history that the Slovak nation appeared as an independent subject." According to Krno, other parties' deputies objected that "in its history, the Slovak National Party has almost never been a guarantee of democracy." They argued, moreover, that this date "would scarcely be acceptable to the non-Slovak population." Communist deputies, finally, are said to have earned even more criticism when they proposed that 29 August, the day of the Slovak National Uprising, become the republic's national day again. Krno concludes his article by saying that "the debate confirmed that, evidently, it will be necessary to find a compromise."

Meeting Commemorates 1944 Slovak Uprising

LD2808210790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 28 Aug 90

[Text] Almost 400 members of the 2d Czechoslovak Independent Parachute Brigade met in Banska Bystrica today. The brigade was the first unit which, during the struggle 46 years ago, linked in practice our domestic and foreign resistance.

Army General Miroslav Vacek, minister of defense, stressed in his opening address that the uprising had undoubtedly been a part of the culmination of the domestic antifascist struggle of the Slovak nation, the principal aim of which was to contribute toward defeating fascism and renewing the common state of the fraternal nations of the Czechs and Slovaks in a new form.

The participants in the meeting were also greeted by Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly. He noted that all those who had participated in the antifascist struggle had fought for renewing the common republic of the Czechs and Slovaks. In the interest of our common future we must not forget our past, stressed Alexander Dubcek.

Slovak Industry Minister on Crude Oil Issue

AU2808142390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 23 Aug 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Jan Holcik, Slovak republic minister of industry, by Stanislav Tomanek; place and date not given: "There Are Four Possibilities"]

[Text] Bratislava—The crude oil problem is topical again. It influences the superpowers' policy and the policy of other countries. What was true yesterday is history today. The most solid agreements are falling apart and that is why we have to look for more flexible sources.

[Holcik] Recently, we held a series of negotiations with partners from all over the world, during which crude oil was the main topic. Yesterday we ended discussions with

a four-member delegation, headed by the president of the Petroleos de Venezuela Company, Mr. Andre Pietri Soso. With the participation of Minister Rudolf Filkus and Slovnaft director Jozef Cimbora, we held discussions directly at our largest crude oil processing plant. The Venezuelan company has access to one of the richest crude oil deposits in the world and showed an interest in reducing our deficit in Soviet crude oil deliveries. During recent years, the company took an aggressive exporting approach and orients itself toward long-term deliveries for their clients. Our partners also want to invest capital in our enterprises and to share control over some parts of the refinery. They expect, on our part, imports of investment units, which they would pay for with their quality oil. We discussed these topics with officials from the CSFR Ministry of Economy. inister Dlouhy entrusted three commissions with examining optimal possibilities for our mutual contacts.

[Tomanek] Despite the fact that relations with Venezuela appear to be promising, we are not going to monopolize them....

[Holcik] Not at all. We will go to Moscow and Kiev in order to conclude agreements on a bilateral exchange of goods with the Russian Republic and with the Ukrainian Republic. We want to pay for crude oil with the products made by chemical and light industries.

[Tomanek] The Druzhba pipeline, so it seems, is not absolutely reliable, despite the fact that it has been in service for 28 years. Are we going to make use of the Adria crude oil pipeline from Rijeka as well?

[Holcik] This represents another version. We are holding talks with Yugoslavia and Hungary about the transportation of Arab or eventually African crude oil through the Adria crude oil pipeline. The pipeline is technologically OK, we only have to finalize economic questions. I have to say that, in this case, the proposed fees are multiples of the fees offered to us by other potential partners from the FRG and Austria, in dollars, of course. During our visit to Salzburg we held talks about extending the Austrian Petroleum Corporation's TAL pipeline from Schwechat to Slovnaft, among other things. The convenient location and conditions predetermine interconnecting crude oil as well as final product pipelines between these enterprises. This would enable the transportation of some 12 million tonnes of crude oil per year to the CSFR under favorable conditions. If the mutual connection between Schwechat and Slovnaft were built, we would pay an acceptable amount for a tonne of transported crude oil. It was agreed upon that the interconnection costs would be paid by the Austrian Petroleum Corporation on the Austrian side, and by Slovnaft on our side. We anticipate costs of about 416 million korunas. One international company offered to provide and transport crude oil.

Schwechat-Bratislava Oil Pipeline To Be Built

AU2808135590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Aug 90 p 2

[CTK report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone...." column]

[Text] The Austrian Government and the Slovak Ministry of Industry have agreed on the construction of an oil pipeline between the Schwechat refinery near Vienna and the Slovnaft refinery in Bratislava. The oil pipeline will have to be built so as to bypass some protected wetland forest areas. The Austrian Petroleum Corporation [OeMV] is also planning to build its own network of gas stations in Slovakia.

Benefits, Timetable, Cost Detailed

AU2808140590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Aug pp 1, 2

[Stanislav Tomanek article: "Third Source of Crude Oil; Slovnaft-Schwechat Oil Pipeline in Two Years?"]

[Excerpts] The Slovnaft and OeMV [Austrian Petroleum Corporation] Schwechat chemical giants are close not only in terms of distance. Both are state-owned companies and they also have some identical operational facilities and technologies. [passage omitted]

"The stream of Soviet oil to the Slovnaft refinery is becoming weaker and we have to look for alternatives," says Jan Holcik, minister of industry of the Slovak Republic. "We have therefore initiated talks with OemV Schwechat. [passage omitted]

"Given the capacity of the Druzhba and Adria pipelines [from the Soviet Union and Rijeka, SFRY] as well as the expected extraction and supply difficulties in the Soviet Union and the Gulf region, we have an immense interest in opening a third supply channel by adding to the existing TAL-AWP [from Trieste, Italy] oil pipeline an extension linking the Schwechat and Slovnaft refineries.

"As Mr. Meysel, the OeMV general director, said, this project is in the interest of both sides. In the long term, the prospect appears to be advantageous of creating in Central Europe a strong refinery and petrochemical center. This requires interlinking the refineries in the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic and Austria, and possibly, those in Hungary and Yugoslavia as well, through oil and other pipelines." [passage omitted]

From our viewpoint, this idea has other attractive aspects too. The extension of the AWP oil pipeline would increase the capacity of oil pipelines leading to Czechoslovakia by some 4.5 million tonnes of crude oil a year. Depending on the structure of supplies and the form of their organization, the transit fees would represent only about 50 percent of the cost of using the Adria pipeline. The Austrian partners have submitted to us the concept of a joint stock company which would operate the

Schwechat-Slovnaft pipeline and which would also secure its own crude oil purchases, within the framework of the OeMV.

Experts estimate the investment costs of the extension of the pipeline up to the Austrian-Czechoslovak border at 750 to 800 million Austrian schillings. The section from the border to the Slovnaft refinery would be within the jurisdiction of the Czechoslovak investor. Because time is money, also in this case, the interlinking of the two refineries should become reality in less than two years. [passage omitted]

Slovak Statistical Publication To Appear

AU2808165990 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 24 Aug 90 p 11

["(bel)"-signed report: "Bulletin NAZORY"]

[Text] The bulletin NAZORY [Opinions] is designed for experts, representatives of political parties and movements, and other institutions interested in opinion polls conducted in Slovakia. The bulletin is published by the Institute for Public Opinion Research at the Slovak Statistical Office in Bratislava. In the first issue you can read about citizens' opinions about the future, about the popularity of Slovak politicians after six months in office, or about the opinions on unemployment, as well as answers to questions such as what prospects we see for our economy, whether or not to finish the Gabcikovo project, etc. The bulletin will be published four times a year and will contain 40 pages; its price is 50 korunas. You can mail your orders to: Institute for Public Opinion Research at the Slovak Statistical Office, 1 Dunajska Street, 811 08 Bratislava.

Envoy in Kuwait Cannot Reach U.S., UK Embassies

LD0309142790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Excerpt] According to the latest news, the Czechoslovak ambassador and one staff member from our Embassy in Kuwait, who remained there after the evacuation of our other diplomats, are alright. They have been supplied with oil, electricity, and food. They have been in contact with the other embassies, apart from the U.S. and UK Embassies, the staff of which have no connection whatsoever with the outside world.

The Czechoslovak Embassy is now holding talks about the evacuation of our (?nine) citizens who previously decided to stay in Kuwait voluntantarily and who now have changed their mind. [passage omitted on evacuation of foreigners from Kuwait]

Economic Relations Agreement Signed With USSR

LD0109135590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1330 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Vaclav Vales, the CSFR deputy premier, and Konstantin Katushev, the Soviet minister of external economic relations, signed an agreement at the Zbraslov state castle today on a shift to new conditions for carrying out trade and economic relations between the two countries.

Also present at the talks between the delegations was Soviet Ambassador Boris Pankin. You will be able to hear details of the agreement in today's Radio Newsreel.

Havel Denies Report of Peace Mission to Iraq

AU3108132590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Aug 90 p 1

[CTK report: "No One Is Going to Baghdad"]

[Text] Prague—The Soviet news agency TASS carried a report on Tuesday [28 August] from the international conference in Oslo which stated that Vaclav Havel and Nelson Mandela, the South African black nationalist leader, had agreed to travel to Baghdad to act as mediators in an attempt to seek a peaceful solution to the crisis situation in the Persian Gulf.

After returning to Prague, Vaclav Havel informed CTK that the whole issue is a misinterpretation of his words. "At the Oslo 'Anatomy of Hatred' conference—a day before I flew home—there was a discussion on the threat of war in the Persian Gulf," stated Vaclav Havel. "It was mentioned that Saddam Husayn could turn his aggression toward Israel in order to unite the Arab world on his side. Following up on this debate, Norwegian Television asked me whether I would eventually be prepared to play a mediating role. I answered very vaguely in the sense that everywhere I have the possibility, opportunity, or capability to contribute toward peace, I am prepared to contribute toward it. In other words: I did not say anything about intending to go to Baghdad or that I would, in fact, go there," stressed Vaclav Havel.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

GDR Ambassador to Kuwait Said Safe in Baghdad

LD0209164390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1559 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr. Kurt Merkel, the GDR's ambassador to the State of Kuwait, has arrived safe and sound in Baghdad. The GDR Foreign Ministry also reported this evening, in answer to an inquiry from ADN, that Dr. Merkel and his wife are well and are in the GDR Embassy in Baghdad.

The French news agency AFP reported today that the GDR diplomat tried on Saturday evening [1 September] to reach the FRG ambassador's residence from his mission in Kuwait City when the situation in the GDR mission became intolerable. On the way there he was stopped by Iraqi soldiers who forced him to proceed to the Iraqi capital.

Spokesman on Envoy's 'Abduction'

LD0309135990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1326 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR Embassy in Kuwait is extant and has not been closed. This was announced today in Berlin by government spokesman Matthias Gehler at the regular news conference. He quoted the latest information from the crisis staff at the Foreign Ministry, which, he said, met this morning, and would probably meet once again during the course of the day.

With the failure of the air-conditioning system and the lack of food, the situation for the ambassador and his wife, who are the only GDR citizens still in the mission, has become nearly intolerable. During the night of 30-31 August, there was an exchange of fire between Iraqi posts and persons unknown outside the embassy building. The causes have not yet been clarified. As a result it was agreed with the Foreign Ministry that the ambassador and his wife would go to the FRG Embassy. The Iraqis prevented them, however, from entering the embassy. After a brief return to the GDR Embassy, Merkel and his wife were then "deported with a military escort" to Baghdad on 2 September.

According to Gehler, of the GDR citizens, three women left Iraq by Lufthansa Airbus last night. At present 30 GDR citizens, including 14 members of the embassy in Baghdad, as well as Ambassador Merkel and his wife, are still in the country. The wives stated that they want to remain in the embassy with their husbands.

The GDR Government has so far not protested the abduction of its ambassador in Kuwait, Gehler said in reply to an inquiry.

NVA Reportedly Sending Army Trucks to Africa

AU3108203790 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 30 Aug 90 p 4

["rrh"-signed report: "NVA Helps in Africa"]

[Text] Hamburg, 29 August—The first 65 Army trucks from the GDR will be handed over to development and emergency projects in Ethiopia, Angola, and Mozambique within the framework of an intra-German joint campaign on Friday [31 August]. According to German World Hunger Aid in Bonn, GDR Defense Minister Eppelmann has agreed with a proposal by the East Berlin development organization OIKOS that these vehicles of the National People's Army (NVA) be used for humanitarian purposes in these three African countries.

The trucks are repainted and equipped with spare parts at the cost of the GDR Ministry of Economic Cooperation and will then be transported to Africa at the cost of the corresponding FRG ministry. Then 45 of the former army vehicles will be given to the Church Joint Relief Partnerships Program in Ethiopia. Ten each are to be used in projects of the German World Hunger Aid in Angola and Mozambique, which resettles refugees from those areas which are now made unsafe by rebels of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola or the Mozambique National Resistance. In addition, the GDR is to send three mechanics for servicing the vehicles.

Diestel Denies Withholding 'La Belle' Files

AU3108134690 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 31 Aug 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Diestel Rejects Paetzold's Accusations"]

[Text] Berlin—GDR Interior Minister Diestel has rejected the "insinuation" by Berlin's Internal Affairs Senator Paetzold that he is obstructing the investigation of the bomb attack on West Berlin's "La Belle" discotheque. According to the East Berlin interior minister, the "Lux" file has been available to East and West Berlin criminal investigators on Normannenstrasse, the former Stasi [State Security Service] headquarters, since May 1990. On the orders of Diestel himself, this file, as well as the "Ashur" investigation, was handed over from the Central Office of Criminal Investigation to the Berlin Office of Criminal Investigation on 25 June 1990.

Two weeks later, on 6 July, both files were handed over to the GDR Prosecutor General's Office upon request, after the West Berlin side had presented a request for legal aid. According to the GDR Interior Ministry, the "Lux" file has "again been available" to the Berlin Office of Criminal Investigation "and, therefore, also to the West Berlin investigation authorities" since 23

August. The "Ashur" file is in the West Berlin Public Prosecutor's Office, according to East Berlin.

Friday morning [date not specified] the Committee for the dissolution of the Stasi allegedly handed a great number of files to the Central Office of Criminal Investigation. These files included further material on the "La Belle attack" and the "Box" file, which did not, therefore, get lost somewhere between the Stasi headquarters on Normannenstrasse and the Central Office of Criminal Investigations. Paetzold can satisfy himself of that on site, Diestel said.

Stasi Reportedly 'Secretly' Cremated Bodies

LD0209163190 Hamburg DPA in German 1523 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The GDR State Security Service, according to a report in the television show "Spiegel TV," secretly burned corpses in GDR crematoria in the seventies and eighties. Staff at the crematoria in Leipzig and Dresden have reported that Stasi officers themselves carried out the cremations without witnesses. There were no documents about the identity of the dead.

Only once was the head of the Dresden crematorium able to glance into one of the coffins. The body had a hole in its head, while the death certificate—normally not issued—did not mention a name but stated cardiac arrest. The CID [Criminal Investigation Division] is investigating. Among the anonymously cremated bodies are said to be at least three agents of the FRG Federal Intelligence Service (BND) who were sentenced to death in the seventies and eighties, "Spiegel TV" reports.

The magazine also reports unsolved deaths among political prisoners of the infamous GDR prison Bautzen II. There are indications that Dieter Vogel, who was imprisoned there for espionage, did not—as was claimed officially—commit suicide, but was strangled by Stasi members. The Bautzen CID is investigating this and other cases.

Stasi Agents Said To Be Working for KGB Now

AU0309130190 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 2 Sep 90 p 2

["H.V."-signed report: "Stasi Bugging Experts Are Now Working for the KGB"]

[Text] Bonn—Bugging specialists of the Stasi state security are now working for the Soviet intelligence service KGB. State Minister Lutz Stavenhagen, who is responsible for intelligence services in the Chancellory, stated to WELT AM SONNTAG that the FRG Government is in possession of information to this effect. He said that technical equipment of the former Ministry for State Security for the bugging of telephones has obviously been transferred from East Berlin to the USSR.

This week the state prosecutor filed charges against three GDR spies, who were caught in the FRG. The first man is a member of the FRG Federal Intelligence Service (BND), who is said to have spied for the Stasi along with his brother, the second man, since 1972. The third agent has been in Bonn's foreign service since 1961 and worked in the embassies in Tokyo, London, and Vienna, in the Foreign Ministry in Bonn, and finally as a permanent representative of the German ambassador in Colombo [Sri Lanka].

Stavenhagen said that more and more GDR agents who went underground are now being caught: "The tip-offs we receive from defectors are considerable."

Ex-Espionage Chief Discusses Dissolution, Spies

AU0309155890 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3 Sep 90 pp 101-106

[Interview with Werner Grossmann, last head of the Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration in the Ministry for State Security, by Uly Foerster and Axel Jeschke in East Berlin; date not given: "Mielke Distrusted Himself"]

[Excerpts] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Grossmann, you are giving your first interview to DER SPIEGEL. Usually contacts with you are possible only through mediators. In contrast to other Stasi [State Security Service] deputy ministers, you are practically hiding.

[Grossmann] There were enough people who recommended that I do so after the change to make public statements. After discussions with my deputies and associates, however, I stuck with the decision not to do this so as not to disturb certain processes.

[DER SPIEGEL] With these "certain processes" you mean the dissolution of your espionage service, the old Stasi Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration (HVA). When was this dissolution concluded, and what happened to its employees?

[Grossmann] The decision on the complete dissolution of the HVA was made by the Security Working Group of the Central Roundtable on 23 February. On this date, work, at least regarding the FRG and West Berlin, had already ceased to a great extent. Even before this date, in November 1989, we had started independently to at least prepare the dissolution, which was finally concluded on 30 June, in such a way that it would not take a long time.

[DER SPIEGEL] The first thing you did probably was to eliminate the files.

[Grossmann] Certainly. This means that at first we reduced their number. Of course, the number of files was very, very large, so that we started destroying them very early.

[DER SPIEGEL] The shredders were working continuously....

[Grossmann] Until December. Afterwards, there was a decision of the former National Security Office at the

order of the government that nothing more should be destroyed. Later on, we destroyed more files, but with official approval: The Security Working Group, the citizens committee, and the government representatives decided that all data about persons who cooperated with us were to be destroyed so that no one would be in danger afterwards.

[DER SPIEGEL] There is nothing more in the documents that would provide clues to Stasi agents in the FRG? Everything is gone?

[Grossmann] Yes.

[DER SPIEGEL] This means that all this can be cleared up only if people tell about it. And if they do not, this is the end of the matter?

[Grossmann] Yes.

[DER SPIEGEL] And you are willing to talk if you are asked?

[Grossmann] No.

[DER SPIEGEL] But you are telling us something.

[Grossmann] Yes, but not about individuals.

[DER SPIEGEL] Many of your "scouts" are still in the FRG.

[Grossmann] After the change, we gradually held—when possible—a last talk with almost all agents in the FRG and, if you want to put it this way, said farewell. We assured ourselves of our mutual respect and appreciation. Where it was necessary and where we could do it, we fulfilled last obligations, for instance, with payments from the last money that we had. We were very restricted, however, because we were able to dispose only of the rest of our money, or received certain sums during the dissolution stage to deal with such things.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did your scouts come to the GDR or did you and your colleagues take round trips through the Western enemy country?

[Grossmann] Both.

[DER SPIEGEL] Did you also "switch off" the Bonn state secretary, who has not been discovered so far and who is said to have spied for the Stasi?

[Grossmann] There is no such state secretary.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your predecessor, Markus Wolf, said that a state secretary, "who is, I would say, well-disposed to us," is still in the FRG.

[Grossmann] I have to contradict that. I also doubt that Wolf meant it in this way, and, as far as I know, he has denied this since then. Until his leaving the service in 1986 he can judge for himself. After his departure we did not hire a state secretary. There is, therefore, no second Guillaume.

[DER SPIEGEL] Has the Soviet KGB taken over your old agents after the dissolution of the HVA?

[Grossmann] No, certainly not. I want to reject everything that has been said about this officially, such as the statements by representatives of the FRG Government, or by Mr. Boeden of the FRG Federal Office for the Protection of the Constitution. Neither structures and files nor individual persons were handed over. I would never put someone with whom I have been linked through work for many years into another service without his approval.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you rule out that some of your agents have turned to the KGB voluntarily?

[Grossmann] I cannot rule out anything. If one or the other did this voluntarily, this is his responsibility.

[DER SPIEGEL] Have there also been other interested parties, for instance on the Western side?

[Grossmann] Certainly. Recently there have been many attempts to win over employees of our service, also high-ranking employees—for instance, by the U.S. CIA.

[DER SPIEGEL] What sums were offered?

[Grossmann] My predecessor Markus Wolf once spoke of a six-digit sum. Similar offers have also come from the FRG Federal Intelligence Service and from the Office for the Protection of the Constitution—perhaps not always so specifically and with such high sums. The offers were for high-ranking persons, not just anyone.

[DER SPIEGEL] What then did GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker know, in your view, of Minister Mielke's action to naturalize former Red Army Faction terrorists?

[Grossmann] It is inconceivable that Mielke did this all alone. He also discussed completely different, far less important matters with the former head of state. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] What kind of Stasi employees are to be exempt from punishment in a united Germany?

[Grossmann] Everyone who did not commit a crime. This applies both to the official and the unofficial employees.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you willing to reveal your knowledge to a great extent if a regulation on exemption from punishment has been found?

[Grossmann] Perhaps to a greater extent, but not to a great extent. Even then one certainly has to take many things into consideration so as not to provoke new insecurities. Of course, such a regulation is also linked with the demand for loyalty to the future joint German government.

[DER SPIEGEL] You will not have any difficulties supporting the basic liberal-democratic system?

[Grossmann] No.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you in a political party?

[Grossmann] I am still a member of the Party of Democratic Socialism.

Further Decline in USSR Oil Supply Noted

LD0309125190 Budapest MTI in English 1133 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 3, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Over the weekend, the Soviet Union indicated that it would deliver only 1.068 million tonnes of oil to Hungary in the third quarter of the year instead of the 1.134 million tonnes promised earlier.

The original interstate agreement, concluded at the beginning of the year, prescribed the delivery of 1.620 million tonnes for the third quarter. The new Soviet statement involves a 34 per cent cutback instead of the earlier 30 per cent reduction.

The Soviet Union now promises 1.224 million tonnes for the fourth quarter.

Originally, the Soviets were to have delivered 6.48 million tonnes this year but only 5.092 million is now likely to come to Hungary, 78.6 per cent of the original amount.

Hungary purchases 208,000 tonnes of Iraqi oil earlier this year for 30 million USD, and 243,000 tonnes of Algerian and Libyan oil for 60 million USD.

It is estimated that a further 400,000 tonnes of light crude will have to be bought on the spot market this year and that Hungary also needs 60,000 tonnes of petrol.

The total amount of A-76 petrol which the Soviet Union is contracted to supply to Hungary this year is 310,000 tonnes, of which 203,000 had been delivered to Hungary by the end of August. The Soviet Union has indicated that it will be unable to deliver any A-76 petrol in September.

The new, unexpected Soviet cutback may create a difficult situation in Hungary's petrol supply in September since it may not be possible to purchase and process oil quickly enough. Sources for the purchase of 20,000 tonnes of petrol are therefore now being sought.

Hungarian exports of various oil products were worth in the region of 400 million USD in 1989. In the first seven months of this year, Hungarian exports came to 230 million USD but, owing to reduced Soviet oil deliveries, they are not likely to reach last year's level by the end of the year.

USSR Troops, Families Continue To Withdraw

LD3108174890 Budapest MTI in English 1229 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 31 (MTI)—Soviet troop withdrawals from Hungary are continuing according to schedule. By Friday morning 522 soldier-carrying train convoys had rolled across the Hungarian-Soviet border, with the remaining eight expected to leave later on in the day.

Colonel Gyorgy Keleti, spokesman for the Ministry of Defence, told MTI's correspondent that one-third of all Soviet soldiers and relatives—35,720 people in all—had left the country so far, including 19,403 soldiers, 3,851 civilian employees and 12,466 family members.

MSZMP Chairman on Meeting With Gorbachev

AU0409072990 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 31 Aug 90 p 3

[Unattributed interview with MSZMP Chairman Gyula Thurmer; place and date not given: "Thurmer Warned Gorbachev About an Oil War—Berecz and Grosz Are No Longer Active Even Within the MSZMP"]

[Text] It is a well known-fact that Gyula Thurmer recently met with Mikhail Gorbachev who, according to Thurmer, had aged since their last meeting. The major topics of discussion from that meeting were published, including Hungarian-Soviet relations, Eastern European developments, relations between the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union [CPSU], and an analysis of the internal situation in the Soviet Union. We asked Gyula Thurmer to expand on the issues that he considered to be the most interesting.

[Thurmer] Our negotiations marked a new era. In December 1989, the MSZMP reorganized itself because of the situation in the country. One could say that it was born on Hungarian political soil, unlike the MSZMP of the periods following 1945 and 1956, when the Soviet Union had a decisive influence on Hungarian domestic policy. At our recent meeting, it was the leaders of two independent national parties who were negotiating. The other significant fact—evidently related to this—was that, as far as I could tell, the Soviet side recognized the fact that the MSZMP could fill a certain vacuum, that is, to represent the interests of people who live off their wages and salaries.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Is that how you explain that you were the first Hungarian party leader that Gorbachev received in that position since the MSZMP-Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] Congress?

[Thurmer] I think that Gorbachev's gesture was intended first, for the Hungarian people, and second, for the MSZMP, which is the largest opposition party outside parliament.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Reports about your negotiations with the Soviet leader probably dealt mostly with the request to leave oil taps open. In one interview, you said that you would even assume an "outgoing" role in this matter. How is that to be understood?

[Thurmer] We reject the idea that, the worse it is for the country, the better it is for the MSZMP. It is not in our interest for economic circumstances to become worse. It is in our interest that the position of socialism be

strengthened in a developing Hungary. Economic relations between Hungary and the Soviet Union are of national interest! That was my starting point; that was why I asked Gorbachev to help overcome obstacles, and to refrain from taking extraordinary measures that might lead to an oil war, and so on. As I see it, they are prepared to fulfill their role, so the ball is now in the Hungarian court. If the incitement to anti-Soviet hysteria continues, I do not think that we can make any progress in our relations.

[NEPSZABADSAG] Let us turn to Hungary. Do the old politicians of the MSZMP—Karoly Grosz and Janos Berecz, for example—have a role in the leadership of the party?

[Thurmer] They are both members of the Central Committee, but they do not take an active part in the shaping of our policy.

[NEPSZABADSAG] What expectations do you have for the local elections?

[Thurmer] I think that the left wing has more chances than it had in the spring. People clearly see the result of the coalition government's efforts: inflation, unemployment, parliamentary debates turning into a farce, rising nostalgia for the past.... People are also afraid that the country will swing to the right, toward a dictatorship. I am afraid that the electoral campaign will become rougher. The Justitia plan of the Hungarian Democratic Forum is totally illegal. Ridiculous actions, such as the collection of weapons, do not really contribute toward a peaceful atmosphere in the preparation of these elections.

[NEPSZABADSAG] During your negotiations with Gorbachev, the idea of a conference of left-wing forces in Eastern and Central Europe emerged. Would the left-wing sections of our parties be invited to such a conference?

[Thurmer] If they prove to be apt, they should be present.

Parliament Deputy on Tension in Transylvania

AU0109200090 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 30 Aug 90 p 5

[Unattributed report on interview with parliament Deputy Miklos Gaspar Tamas to Radio Free Europe; place and date not given: "Miklos Gaspar Tamas on Irredentism"]

[Text] "There is no major political power in Hungary which wants Transylvania back or which does not respect the current borders in Europe—including the Trianon borders—and the borders established after the Paris treaty of 1947." This, among other things, was stated by Miklos Gaspar Tamas in an interview granted to the Romanian department of Radio Free Europe.

"Today, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Hungarian parliament—and I am a member of this committee—adopted an appeal to the Romanian National Assembly and every Romanian deputy and senator, an appeal which reiterates the position of the Hungarian parliament in connection with the anniversary of the Trianon Peace Treaty. In this position, we declared—and if necessary, we will continue to declare a thousand times—that Hungary fully respects Romania's present borders. Every manifestation which contradicts this position is a lie. I would like to call upon all the people who are now listening to this radio program to tell their friends and acquaintances that the rumors of a revisionist and irredentist wave in Hungary are false. There are, of course, smaller groups—nostalgic groups outside the parliament—which follow revisionist ideas, but these groups have no political importance whatsoever," Miklos Gaspar Tamas pointed out.

"Both the coalition parties and the opposition parties reject these groups and force them into the political periphery."

In conclusion, Miklos Gaspar Tamas stressed the following:

"On the occasion of the anniversary of the Trianon Peace Treaty, the major political forces in Hungary called upon the population to refrain from organizing demonstrations. No such demonstrations were held, except for a few dozen people whom the passers-by did not even notice. We would welcome the commemoration of the Vienna award in an atmosphere of peace, understanding, and common sense.

Antall Returns From Helsinki 1 Sep

LD0209032990 Budapest MTI in English 1715 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 1 (MTI)—Prime Minister Jozsef Antall returned to Budapest from Helsinki on Saturday.

The prime minister attended the 13th conference of party leaders of the European Democratic Union in Helsinki. The union accepted the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Christian Democratic People's Party among its members at its current conference. All three Hungarian parties were represented at the conference with delegations.

Antall Addresses Democratic Forum Conference

LD0209181690 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Budapest, September 2 (MTI)—"The Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) [MDF] will enter the local government elections in September as a force that competes with its coalition partners in a fair manner, but which also forms an alliance with them," said Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, president of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, on Sunday in Budapest. Mr Antall was

speaking at the Forum's national campaign opening conference for campaign managers of the HDF organizations.

Mr Antall held it possible that, in certain places, occasional, temporary agreements will be reached, perhaps even with political groups that have an old HSWP [MSZMP—Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] background, in case the locals deem this necessary to implement the transformation.

Discussing the situation of the HDF, and the government coalition, the prime minister termed it extremely important that the three governmental factors received a place in the large family of European parties: The parties of the coalition were accepted as members of the Christian Democratic International, and the European Democratic Union. This is of outstanding importance particularly with respect to Hungary's external relations and the building of its economy, Mr Antall said.

"Naturally, our country wishes to continue to live in friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. We strive for correct diplomatic relations at the end of the Soviet troops withdrawal, and would like to expand economic cooperation," Mr Antall said, among others.

MSZP Criticizes Government's First 100 Days

LD0309162690 Budapest MTI in English 1411 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, September 3 (MTI)—The Socialists feel that the government has not fulfilled expectations in the course of its activity so far, and has failed to work out a specific programme to find a way out of the economic crisis. The palpable increase in inflation is particularly dangerous. The establishment of a market economy has been slow and full of contradictions. No ideas have emerged on the promised social network. The Smallholders' land programme threatens to ruin agriculture and to have antagonistic political and emotional effects, Imre Szekeres, national secretary of the HSP [MSZP—Hungarian Socialist Party], said at a briefing held in Budapest on Monday, on the party's statement evaluating the first 100 days of the government's activities, passed by the party presidium at its session on Sunday.

Mr Szekeres also said that the HSP was ready to cooperate with every lawful political force, including the government parties. It views the trade unions, the organizations representing wage and salary earners, small entrepreneurs, and the non-parliamentary left-wing forces, as its natural allies. The HSP points out as a fundamental condition of democracy that in the course of the local elections, the basis of judgement should be competence and human decency alone. In this spirit does the HSP nominate its own candidates and support those nominated by other parties.

Horn on Possible Cooperation With SZDSZ

LD0209081990 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Excerpts] At the Budapest meeting of Hungarian Socialist Party delegates, Gyula Horn criticized the government's policy. He also said that, by means of left-wing values, the possibilities for political cooperation between the socialists and the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] seem to be emerging.

[Reporter] Gyula Horn criticized the Democratic Forum's program of compensation and expressed the view that the government has launched a witch- hunt against certain parties, for which whole social strata will have to pay the price. The party chairman described the planned political callings to account as undemocratic; on the other hand, he urged the examination of cases of corruption and other common law cases. [passage omitted]

Gyula Horn further said that the government's backward-looking policy increases the chances of the left wing to an extraordinary degree, and that by means of certain left-wing values, the possibilities for political cooperation between his party and the SZDSZ seem to be emerging.

Three Parties Form Election Alliance in Kecskemet

LD0209082590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 1 Aug 90

[Text] An election alliance has been formed in Kecskemet by the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] the Independent Smallholders' Party [FKgP], and the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP]. In the terms of their agreement, the MDF will nominate candidates in 11 of the city's 19 individual constituencies, and the FKgP and KDNP in four constituencies each. They will coordinate the election campaign and will actively help one another's candidates. The local organizations have also agreed that if they obtain a majority at the self-government elections, then they will form a coalition.

Parliament Discusses Referendum, Registration

LD0309154690 Budapest MTI in English 1335 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, September 3 (MTI)—On Monday [3 September] the Hungarian parliament continued the general debate over the bill concerning the mayor's functions. Given the large number of proposed amendments, decision on the bill will only be passed after the constitutional, legislative and judicial committee has taken its stance on the matter.

MPs decided to give priority to discussing the independent proposal of Csoti Gyorgy (Hungarian Democratic Forum) relating to the amendment of the law on referendum and popular initiative.

Accordingly, the number of signatures required for holding a parliamentary ballot would be raised from 50,000 to 100,000 in the case of popular initiatives, and from 100,000 to 500,000 in that of a referendum.

The house noted the resignation of MP Sandor Keresztes (Christian Democratic People's Party) from his mandate as of August 31, because of his appointment as Hungary's ambassador to the Holy See.

Gabor Demszky and Peter Hack of the Alliance of Free Democrats handed in an independent motion pertinent to the registration of officers and so-called "network" people who were commissioned to carry out highly confidential tasks for the former iii/iii [as received] department of the Interior Ministry. Parliament is expected to decide about the proposal, which has been submitted for urgent discussion, on Tuesday [4 September].

Conditions for U.S. Hostages at Plant Described

AU0309082890 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Aug 90 p 1

["KL"-signed report: "Hostages"]

[Text] Most of the 50 Poles who were evacuated from the Iraqi chemical plant at Al Qaim [spelling as published] say that the group of American hostages being held there are being treated well, but are closely guarded and completely isolated.

They are living in a camp that belongs to the Polish company Chemadex and is situated next to the plant. The Poles, who left the camp on Monday morning and arrived home on Tuesday, say that the Americans are staying "in separate, comfortable houses, which have every possible convenience. They look well, and use the camp pool for two hours every day."

The plant and the camp are surrounded by a barbed wire fence, troops, and tanks. A special pass is needed in order leave the area. So, the Poles and the British, who are supervising the starting up of a new department at the plant, are also practically locked up there.

The Americans take their meals separately, and essentially no one can have any contact with them. One of the Poles, however, said that he managed to talk to some of them: "They complained about psychological terror and the uncertainty surrounding their future. I, myself, saw an American walk through the camp on his way to the pool, as he was followed by an armored vehicle containing four armed men. The Iraqis try to intimidate them by saying that shortly there will be no milk for the children because of the sanctions."

The group of 37 U.S. citizens includes several women and two small children.

According to the Poles, in addition to producing fertilizers, the plant also extracts uranium from phosphate rock. The Iraqi director is seeking to persuade the Poles and British employed there to remain and has, apparently, promised that the uranium extraction department will be closed down.

Many Poles in Iraq Reportedly Want To Stay

AU0309184690 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 29 Aug 90 p 2

["K.L."-signed report: "How Many Want To Return?"]

[Text] Another group of 149 evacuees arrived at Okecie Airport at 1210 on Tuesday [28 August]. They could not set foot on Polish soil for 20 minutes because the airport did not have enough boarding steps.

Most confirmed that Polish managers at firms in Iraq are not creating any difficulties for people who want to leave before their contracts expire, but Iraq often refuses them exit visas.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, only 60 of the 2,400 Poles still in Iraq want to return home. Directors of Polish firms told the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on Tuesday they still cannot ensure a full passenger list and suggested that another special plane should not be sent on Tuesday night as was planned, but in one week's time.

The evacuees stress that they did not face any direct danger in Iraq and say that the Polish media, especially the BBC and Radio Free Europe, have been painting too dramatic a picture of the situation. (Those who returned a week ago complained about the very opposite: reassuring radio propaganda). They all agreed, however, that the mood among the Poles is tense, problems are beginning to appear with the supply of food, and most would like to return.

Among those who returned on Tuesday were 40 "Chemadex" employees who were working at the Al-Qaim chemical plant, which has been surrounded by the Army. About 100 have remained, of whom 35 have already signed a list of those who wish to leave. There is also no shortage of people who want to leave among the 30 or so men building girder bridges and "Elektromontaz" employees.

One of the evacuees, who was "lent" by "Chemadex" to work on a contract in Iraq, said "Chemadex" is doing everything possible to stop people from leaving, because, following the collapse of export trade to the USSR and Bulgaria, the company is on the verge of bankruptcy and now depends solely on the Al-Qaim plant in order to keep going.

There are 80 Poles left at the plant at Taji, outside Baghdad, which the Poles described as a "weapons" plant. Most have not succeeded in obtaining exit visas.

Among those evacuated on Monday and Tuesday, GAZETA did not find any of the 50 employees from the Krakow-based "Realbud" company, which is enlarging facilities at the steel works in Um Qasr on the border with Kuwait. A week ago, two Poles who managed to get away from there in the first convoy that left asserted that the Polish manager there was not allowing anyone to return to Poland.

Foreign Ministry Tallies Cost of Gulf Crisis

AU0309183190 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 30 Aug 90 p 1

["ZA-GA"-signed report: "Iraq-Kuwait: How Much Will it Cost Poland?"]

[Text] Poland quickly decided to comply with UN Security Council Resolution No. 661 on the economic

blockade of Iraq. In the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, calculations are being done to determine how much Poland's decision has already cost it, and how much it is likely to cost in the future.

Current losses:

— $170 million for the purchase of 750,000 tonnes of crude oil from other sources, as a result of the impossibility of receiving 750,000 tonnes of Iraqi crude (Iraq's installment payment of its debt to Poland);

— $115 million for lost export position, financial guarantees deposited in Iraq, and other compensation payments.

Probable future losses:

— $121.6 million for the value of outstanding current service contracts that are now threatened by non-completion;

— $166.2 million; as the value of guarantees deposited in Iraq, payments on account, delayed repayments, capital in banks and other moneys due to Poland;

— $1,515.5 million; as the total value of supply of goods and services contracts to Iraq, which, despite trade negotiations, will now not come into force, because of the introduction of economic sanctions.

In Kuwait, Polish enterprises have lost contract payments that were not transferred, various bank accounts, and production and non-production property worth some $8.5 million.

A Ministry of Foreign Affairs special team is collecting information from Polish citizens who have suffered property losses in Kuwait, including their savings in Kuwaiti bank accounts. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation is collecting information from Polish enterprises on payments that are still outstanding for goods already supplied to Kuwait.

Skubiszewski Reviews Polish Foreign Policy

LD0209021990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Excerpt of interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by unidentified Polish Radio reporter on the 51st anniversary of the outbreak of the Second World War on 1 September; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Poland is a very important factor in European stability, and from the beginning of my activity as head of the Polish Foreign Ministry, I have emphasized to the Germans that they ought to perceive and ought to see in their policy the great advantage resulting from the fact that they have no joint border with Russia, and that the Polish state, a strong, rich one with a democratic system, functioning well, being a stabilizing factor in a rich Europe, is situated between themselves and Russia. That is the aim of my policy, that is the aim of the government's policy. Such a Poland need not fear its German and Russian neighbors. All the more so, in comparison to the prewar policy, which aimed to keep an equal distance from Moscow and Berlin, we make it our aim to have very good and close cooperation with both Moscow and Berlin, or Bonn, wherever the capital of a unified Germany will be.

If it is a question of Moscow, the picture is complex, because we have in the east on the one hand, as a neighbor, the Soviet Union, and simultaneously, we have as neighbors the Lithuanian Republic, the Belorussian nation, we have the Ukrainian nation, and we have have the Russian Federal Republic via the Kaliningrad region, a very important strategic region. Thus, the Belorussian Republic, the Ukrainian Republic, republics which have recently declared their sovereignty, will increasingly, alongside Lithuania, become our partners in cooperation; in any case, on our eastern border there will not be a monolith.

Here many opportunities are opening for policy, for a new eastern policy of the Polish state, and we are starting to implement (?that) policy. Putting it very briefly, there is already today a policy of a certain dualism; on the one hand, relations with the Soviet federation, the USSR and on the other relations with our immediate neighbors, with nations in the form of state they will have, which they will choose, whether they stay in the Soviet federation or confederation, or whether perhaps they leave it, as Lithuania is leaving; all will be fully independent states. Naturally, with that or another kind of dependence on each other. Here I do not see any danger for Poland if we keep pace with the international political reality being created, which we have a certain influence on; but of course, much does not depend on us.

From this point of view I am rather optimistic, and I think that we will keep pace. There are no delays here; nor do I fear the isolation of the Polish state. Having the sort of situation which we have, any kind of isolation is out of the question. I must mention also our Baltic cooperation, which is finding expression in the Baltic conference, which is starting today, which Prime Minister Mazowiecki is now leaving for. It is a joint initiative of ours with Sweden. The cooperation in the Czech, Hungarian, and Polish triangle is getting closer. Soon important consultations in this respect will be held in Warsaw.

I do not not see a Poland squeezed beween two colossi, the Western and the Eastern. I rather see a blossoming Poland.

KPN Blocks Rembertow Soviet Military Base

LD3108222890 Warsaw PAP in English 1718 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—Activists of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, KPN, blocked the gates of

Soviet military barracks in the Rembertow District of Warsaw, to protest against the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland.

Director of KPN's political council Henryk Kozakiewicz told PAP that the protest was aimed to exert pressure on the government to immediately start negotiations, attend by representatives of opposition parties, on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland.

KPN plans to stage a similar protest in Legnica which is to end in the evening of September 2.

Similar Actions in Legnica, Torun

LD0209081590 Warsaw PAP in English 1813 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 1—Members of the Confederation for Independent Poland, KPN, continued today to block the barracks of a Soviet military unit in the Rembertow district of Warsaw.

According to KPN's Political council, KPN members started similar actions at gates of Soviet military units in Legnica and Torun.

Organizers of the action, aimed to exert pressure on Polish government to immediately start negotiations, attended by representatives of opposition parties, on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, plan to end the blockade on September 2.

KPN Members Detained

LD0209081890 Warsaw PAP in English 2011 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 1—Police detained a group of 20 members of the Confederation for an Independent Poland, KPN, in the Rembertow district of Warsaw today, Jan Czulkowski of the Warsaw police headquarters told PAP.

KPN members started yesterday a blockade of barracks of a Soviet military unit stationed in Rembertow to protest against the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland.

Czulkowski said that all the detained were brought to a district police station from where they were released later in the day. Czulkowski also firmly denied that police used force against the demonstrators.

Protest Ends Outside Rembertow Base

LD0209190390 Warsaw PAP in English 1936 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 2—Members of the Confederation for Independent Poland, KPN, ended today their protest staged outside the barracks of a Soviet military unit in the Rembertow District of Warsaw.

Walesa, Mazowiecki Address Gdansk Solidarity Rally

Walesa Calls for 'Unity in Diversity'

LD3108164290 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0922 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Speech by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa at a rally at the Gdansk shipyard on 31 August to commemorate the events of August 1980 and the creation of Solidarity—live]

[Text] Before I start my speech, I would like, as the host, to greet today's participants, particularly Mr. Premier Henryk Jagielski, [Mieczyslaw Jagielski, former deputy premier who negotiated the Gdansk Agreements] who is with us. [applause] We were also in this hall 10 years ago. The whole world was watching us with bated breath, waiting for the moment which has always been remembered since then: the signing of an agreement between the government and the strikers. Our words that we spoke as one Pole to another were seized upon. We were not fully aware that we had started the first bloodless revolution and national uprising in our history. From the beginning, our sole aim was dialogue. We wanted to talk about ourselves, about our affairs, about our places of work, about Poland.

It had barely begun to blossom when the winds of a December night in 1981 cut down the first flowers. To many, it seemed that this tree would never blossom again, that it would wither and bear no fruit. Some doubted, others gave up, still others emigrated. Nevertheless, the August impetus was like an invigorating sap which died in winter but came back to life as spring approached. A new spring has come once again, thanks to Solidarity. We won the first elections. Although they were not fully democratic, such was the contract we signed at the roundtable. The public, however, said no. We wanted evolution, but the public expected another leap from us. We watched with fear, knowing that without joy and faith in our own strength [passage indistinct] to effort. We wanted to repair our house, yet we looked with fear at those who joined us at the last moment.

We really did not want to share our victory with others. Some, therefore, moved away from us. Others doubted our sense of public activity. We did a lot, but many things progressed too slowly. The great work of the Sejm, the Senate, and the government was too poorly reflected in places important to the life of society. Others joined our path, although in completely different circumstances. In autumn 1989, we had a real spring of nations in Eastern and Central Europe. Everything, however, began here, at the Gdansk shipyard, in August 1980. For ten years, we carried out our revolution in the knowledge that we were not alone. From the bottom of my heart, I thank all those who were with us. But the revolution is not yet over.

We cannot, therefore, leave the work started unfinished. We must not do this. We now face the next challenge of transforming the struggle, which lay at the birth of Solidarity, into something qualitatively new. Let us also leave behind our former Solidarity brotherhood-in-arms. Solidarity's skills lie not in battle but in the art of government, and it is here that we will have to pass our greatest, contemporary test. I believe that neither I nor my colleagues will lower ourselves in a battle for high office. This never was, and never will be, the aim of our activities. I understand, however, that differences of opinion, of outlook, of basic concept, must exist. I do not claim that mine is the only one, but I deeply believe in its legitimacy, and openly stand here ready for confrontation with others. Let ideas, concepts, and their advocates clash, but without enmity and hostility. Let us stay together, for the Solidarity idea can be expressed in many ways.

We need new banners, and a different vocabulary for the new times. Contemporary Solidarity is a system of values inherent in us, a sense of joint community without any vestiges of racism, nationalism, or anti-Semitism. Unity in diversity. Without diversity there can be no progress. Solidarity is the only one who watches over equality of opportunity, but the result depends on ourselves alone. We have begun a new phase, one which is not the same as the previous one. There, we knew what to do and how to do it. Now, all we know is what to do, but we do not know how to go about it. Many conflicts and discussions are needed to find the right path.

Great work, therefore, faces the elites today, and, just as in the shipyard ten years ago, this time, as well, they must help us. We cannot allow a Solidarity democracy to be introduced in place of the vanquished, inhuman system of socialist democracy.

We need democracy, without any descriptive adjectives, to fill the vacuum left by the departing system. That is the most important task for the intellectuals, for the politicians, who come from our circle. We have not managed to work out a way of making up for the fervor of 1980, which was dampened by martial law and by the people then in power. We must create mechanisms to include the broad masses of society in our activities. If we do not do that, the elite on its own will not be capable of forming a new democratic system, which will make us more like Europe.

Economic, political, and legal solutions must arouse enthusiasm, not reluctance, fear, and doubt. They must bring hope to the post-August generation, and not just to us, the veterans of the just struggle.

It is not for ourselves, not for the positions and the offices, and not for our own satisfaction that we are building this new Poland. Everyone must take part in it, and recognize it as their own: recognize it as theirs in the most immediate sense: for life's opportunities, for professional advancement, the dignity of labor and an orderly life. I think we are all slowly growing toward a new awareness. We are freeing ourselves from the ballast of history, and we have an increasing understanding of what must be done today. Just as when, day by day, we learned how to win without destroying, how to win without [word indistinct] so today we are learning day by day to build a rule-of-law state, and the economic principles which suit a contemporary world and society on the brink of the 21st century.

In ten years, i.e., the length of time we have been traveling together, the 21st century will settle matters with us. What we bring with us will determine our place in the family of nations—whether we are worthy of the name of a nation with a 1000-year Christian history. Let us not permit ourselves to become an example of a backward culture and a pagan society.

This challenge means we must present the many strands of our contemporary life. In order to decide, one must have a choice. We cannot try to enter Europe with a new monopoly without arousing suspicions. There is no unity in the countries of Europe, either. There are different ideologies, and different parties. We cannot create a false unity, therefore. If we want to be normal, in a normal Europe, we must have differences as well. That is life, because that is how man is. It is my desire, and I think it is that of all of us, to bring to a close that chapter in our history that began here and to start a new one.

The new [chapter] can be created by our successors. Every era presents its own challenge which must be addressed. This challenge demands of us particular concern for the common welfare, which is Poland. First, we are Poles, and only then are we politicians or trade unionists. We are building Poland from our varied experiences. Nobody can be left out in this work, because our prosperity is not given to us. It is a great task, which we, too, must undertake. We want to be worthy of that.

Mazowiecki Asks for Peaceful Change

LD3108170990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0946 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Speech by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki at a rally in the Gdansk shipyard on 31 August to commemorate the events of August 1980 and the creation of Solidarity—live]

[Text] Mr. Chairman, esteemed Polish and foreign guests, dear friends: I have come here as a man personally connected with this place, but first, I have come as prime minister of the Government of the Polish Republic, in order that by my presence at this ceremony I can bear witness that this historical date has permanently entered among those basic dates that have shaped the Polish state and the new democratic Poland. We are meeting to mark the Tenth anniversary of those great and important events, in order that we may reflect on those times, also on those ten difficult years, and finally on today.

That time which we remember so well, that time distinguished itself first of all in this shipyard, as in Szczecin, as in Jastrzebie in Silesia, as in many other places by the fact that representatives of the working people and the working people themselves showed their utmost concern. The supremacy of the citizens demands to transform the state, to transform the whole situation, was something so characteristic in the demands agreed upon here in negotiations and in striving for changes. The second characteristic, basic and exceptionally deep, was the reference to Christian values, which were symbolized by the Cross in this hall and by the pope's portraits on the gates of this shipyard; the reference to those values which have always been deeply rooted in our nation, which have been showing the nation the way, and which had been so much amplified a year before during John Paul II's stay in Poland. And, finally, faith that by peaceful means changes could be achieved in Poland: faith, conviction, and loyalty to that assumption. I believe that all those three elements have permanently entered into our consciousness, our attitudes, and our history.

Later, difficult times came. At that time, when we were deprived of Solidarity, we proclaimed—also in this shipyard in 1988—that there is no freedom without Solidarity, and thus we expressed the truth that without recognition for the great cause of the citizens organization of society there can be no true solutions in Poland and an opening of the way to democracy. It happened, it had to happen, because it was in line with human nature. Human rights forced their way to their implementation, against the totalitarian system. And that happened because the persistence of that resistance and that struggle was such.

Finally we are left to reflect on the present day, a difficult day. I do not know how much of the path we have already traveled, one fourth, one half, more or less, but I know that it is a great path that this country and nation have traveled. There was and is no sphere of life in which the solution of Poland's problems will not be a real squaring of the circle, which will not require tough and difficult choices.

Poland was the first to travel such a path, an unprecedented path, the transformation of its economy. This requires consistency and time. Poland today finds itself in a different European situation. In this new situation, Poland can be and has the chance to be an important factor in helping to shape the new Europe: not only to return to Europe, but to help shape it. This requires consistency in our further changes. It requires a sense of stability and certainty in these transformations. I am in favor, and the government I represent is in favor, of consistently pursuing these transformations to their conclusion, of deciding jointly the timetable of democratic changes in Poland, linked with parliamentary and presidential elections, of jointly setting this time and approaching it consistently.

Solidarity and all that was created around it has also found itself in a new situation. Poland needs a strong Solidarity union so that we can genuinely create a social market economy. A social market economy needs a trade union playing a strong role. All civic and political forces that have grown up and were created around Solidarity need to find their own path in accordance with their convictions: a pluralistic, varied path, but also aware of the fact that the country needs a pooling of forces.

We face important decisions. Our choices will be different; our convictions will be diferent; our roads may turn out to be different. May this be a struggle of realistic arguments and realistic programs. It is important that we are able, for the sake of all that united us—all those who term themselves, we August people—to say to ourselves honestly and reliably, that even with all those differences we can be opponents, even political opponents, but we will never be enemies.

As we stand in front of those crosses this afternoon, I would like us to exchange the sign of peace, let it be not just a gesture but a promise that even though we have differences, debate and even fight politically, we will respect that boundary, beyond which lurks a dangerous enmity and the splitting of the nation. This meeting began with the words of the psalm engraved on the wall. Allow me, then, to conclude by referring to the thought in that psalm: I believe that the Lord will give His people strength to meet the challenge of the new moment in history. [applause]

Mazowiecki, Walesa Confer at Bishop's Residence

LD3109185590 Warsaw PAP in English 1721 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 31—A meeting between Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Solidarity leader Lech Walesa was held at the residence of ordinary of the Gdansk Diocese, Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski in the Oliwa district of Gdansk this morning.

A decision to hold the meeting in Oliwa was already made yesterday, Walesa's press spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told PAP.

While in Gdansk the premier was hosted by the Gdansk bishop so this place was the best solution, it provided an indispensable calm atmosphere during both politicians' talks on most important issues. In my view the meeting was advantageous and much significant for both sides. I am under impression that many issues were explained, exactly such talks are much needed, Drzycimski said.

Walesa's Team of Advisers Announced

LD3108215990 Warsaw PAP in English 1603 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 31—Head of Lech Walesa's team of advisors Andrzej Micewski has named the following scholars and social activists to the group:

Professor of Chemistry Marek Krygowski, Professor of Economics Stefan Kurowski, Professor of Medicine Jerzy Majkowski, Professor of Economics Aleksander Mueller, Assistant Professor of Sociology Jadwiga Staniszkis, Professor of Social Sciences Andrezej Tymowski, Professor of the Lublin Catholic University Ryszard Bender, Krakow lawyer Jan Josze, electronic engineer and ecologist Tomasz Jackowski, Dariusz Winkler to deal with relations with international Christian organizations, Mariusz Bialek to deal with contacts with foreign capital, and Andrzej Zakrzewski who is to coordinate the work of the team.

Due to the vacation period, more members of the team of advisors will be named in September.

Chairman of the team of advisors of the chairman of Solidarity trade union asked by PAP to comment on the appointments said:

The team of advisors is not of a political character, but first all it will deal with issues linked with the social situation in Poland. I think that the economy and social policy is currently more important than politics strictly speaking, said Micewski.

Mazowiecki Defends Government Reputation

LD3108212590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1925 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki by unidentified Budapest TV correspondent on 31 August; place not specified—recorded; from the "Panorama" program]

[Text] One of the candidates of the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action—or if you like the Solidarity faction—for the presidency is the present head of government. What is his reaction to the accusation that his government is left-wing and represents the former communists.

[Begin Mazowiecki recording in Polish with superimposed translation into Hungarian] You know, everything is mixed up in the minds of people. They do not know what is left, what is right, or what is the center. These terms have perhaps lost their reason for existence; this is what I would like to say first. The second thing is that everyone in Poland can see very clearly whom this government represents. They know how it came into existence and what it reprsents. I have no need to defend myself, since everybody knows what kind of a horse I bought at the fair. [end recording]

Gdansk Solidarity Commemmorations End

LD3108170490 Warsaw PAP in English 1404 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Gdansk, Aug. 31—The first part of official ceremonies held in Gdansk commemorating the 10th anniversary of August accords ended with the opening of a photo exhibition "Avalanche—What Did Solidarity Contribute to the World?"

During the ceremonies, speeches were also delivered by president of the International Confederation of Free Trade Union John Vandervecken, secretary general of the World Confederation of labour Carlos Luis Custer and president of AFL-CIO Lane Kirkland.

Read out where also congratulations sent to Lech Walesa by FRG Labour minister Norbert Bluehm and from the Prague Citizens Forum.

A resolution presented by the board of the Solidarity Gdansk Chapter calling on the Sejm (lower hosue) and Senate to recognize the introduction of martial law as illegal and directed against the nation, was welcomed with thunderous applause.

Jastrzebie Ceremonies Mark Solidarity Anniversary

LD0209190590 WarsaW PAP in English 1813 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Katowice, Sept. 2—Ceremonies marking the 10th anniversary of Solidarity in the Silesian-Dabrowa region were held in Jastrzebie on the eve of the anniversary of the signing of the Jastrzebie accord.

During the ceremony, Minister Jacek Kuron read out a message from Tadeusz Mazowiecki in which the premier wrote in part: That the strike of miners strengthening the movement which in a short while was to give birth to Solidarity, helped in the decisions arrived during negotiation on the Polish coast, while the Jastrzebie accord found a permanent place in history, along the accords from Gdansk and Szczecin.

An unpleasant moment in the gala atmosphere of the ceremony held in front of the "Manifest Lipcowy" coal mine, was a speech delivered by Kornel Makowiecki, leader of the fighting Solidarity and newly founded Freedom Party, who asked Vice-Speaker of the Senate Andrzej Wielowieyski to apologize to the gathered that his vote contributed to the election of President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Wielowieyski replied that he would not apologize. I am an old soldier, I took part in the war, I was an activist of Solidarity, I defended Poland and her democracy, said the speaker.

"We were convinced that one cannot resign, to give way and we withstood. We were convinced that we had to struggle efficiently, peacefully, to save the nation from damages, not only physical, bloody, but also material and economic ones. We had to create a Polish Government to stop the breaking into pieces of the country. We discussed that. Lech Walesa, although he received such a proposal, did not want to, he could not run at that time. We had to look for a compromise to start the rebuilding of this country," said Wielowieyski.

Further Party Answers to Political Questionnaire

PM3008115190 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 4 Aug 90 p 4

[Report on replies to POLITYKA questionnaire, "Polish Political Panorama: The Left, the Right, and the Center—13 Questions About Programs," conducted by Mariusz Janicki]

[Text] Political parties or movements should have clearly formulated programs. Here in Poland, however, this is not so easy. New actors keep arriving on the public scene, and program declarations are generalized and unclear. Consequently, it is hard to place individual groups according to the traditional division into left-, center, and right-wing orientation, particularly as the very principles of such a division could be called into question, too.

We approached representatives of the various political forces with a list of questions concerning their attitude to our major political, economic, and social problems of the present time. We also asked them to define their position in relation to the other groups. We trust that the answers we received will offer us an outline of a "political map of Poland" and enable us to establish the principal differences and similarities in their programs.

The map in question is neither perfect nor complete, which is why we intend to keep coming back to the project. We appeal to the groups which received our questionnaire to send us their replies to the questions formulated in it.

We printed the first series of replies which we had received to date in POLITYKA No. 30. Below is the next series (printed in alphabetical order, according to party name).

Here is the list of our questions. Replies to individual questions, printed under the name of each political group, are numbered correspondingly.

1. Do you believe that the division into left-wing, center, and right-wing orientation is valid in Poland today? If so, where would you place your own party/group/milieu?

2. What social group do you represent and act for?

3. Do you believe that the direction of the political changes now taking place in Poland is correct?

4. Do you prefer the option calling for an "acceleration" of changes (if so, which changes: political? economic?) or the option of a consistent implementation of the government's "evolutionary" program?

5. Do you think that there is too much or too little state intervention in Poland's economy?

6. Do you share the view that the government policy lacks a clearly and precisely laid out economic program for the agrarian sector, as well as one concerning "social welfare provisions"?

7. Are you in favor of bringing forward the date of the next parliamentary election? If so, when should it take place?

8. Should the election to the post of president of the Polish Republic be conducted by the present Parliament; by a new parliament; or in the form of popular referendum?

9. Should the future political system of the Polish Republic be based on a dominant role for Parliament, or the president?

10. Which of the following concepts do you favor: that of "Citizens Poland," or "National Poland"?

11. Do you believe that the status of the Catholic world view should be underwritten in Poland by certain official ratifications?

12. In the future, will there be a greater danger to Poland from the West or from the East?

13. Should Poland enjoy membership in international military and economic structures? If so, which ones?

Polish Social Democratic Union [PUSd]

Kazimierz Kik, member of the PUSd National Council Presidium, chairman of the PUSd Political Commission:

1. Wherever the dominant elements of the existing system are market economy and capitalism, the traditional division into left-wing, right-wing, and center orientations is a widespread phenomenon today. In many cases, however, the dividing lines are rather vague.

The PUSd is a sociopolitical movement with internal differentiation of predominantly left-wing extraction, but with a definite center-oriented tendency.

2. We would like to speak for a broadly based working people's movement comprising a variety of technical and humanist intelligentsia groups, as well as skilled workers. We want to represent the interests of those social groups which, in our opinion, are crucial for our country's future economic and cultural development. We believe that we have close ties with manufacturers, people involved in the handicraft industry, and peasants. We intend to give particular support to the peasants.

3. Yes, we believe that the direction of the political changes now taking place in Poland is correct. It should aim for a mixed-ownership economic system based on market mechanisms and relying on a degree of state intervention which will correspond with the requirements. Politically, it should take the form of an efficiently functioning parliamentary democracy based on a fully operational political pluralism.

4. We are in favor of the concept of "accelerating the changes," provided that the changes themselves are based on sound and rational premises derived from thorough research and analysis, rather than from subjective and emotional populist sentiments.

5. During the period of transition from the centrally steered economic system to a market economy, a modern form of state intervention is essential in our specific circumstances in Poland. Its extent should be determined by the pace at which real market mechanisms are introduced into the economy.

6. Yes. The government policy shows a lack of clearly defined programs concerning agriculture and a social welfare system, though these are not its only shortcomings....

7. Yes. We are in favor of bringing forward the date of parliamentary elections. The precise date should depend on the country's economic situation and a reasonably clearly defined map of current political configurations. It should also take into consideration the results of an extensive public consultation on the subject of a new electoral law.

8. According to the provisions of the 1935 Constitution, the president should be chosen in a general election.

9. At the present stage of establishing democracy in Poland we need, in equal measures, a strong parliament, a strong government, and a strong president. In our view, political structures in a future, 21st century Poland should rest on just that type of precisely defined triad, complemented by an independent judiciary and control and monitoring systems.

10. We certainly favor the concept of "Citizens Poland," but we realize that we should not overlook the national interest in a country characterized by such a uniform nationality structure....

11. The Catholic world view should be endowed with exactly the same rights as all the other creeds.

12, 13. A comprehensive reinforcement of our ties with Europe will represent a crucial chance for Poland's future development. Actions designed to facilitate the attainment of this goal should include a campaign for Poland's accession to the EEC, a widening of the scope of our cooperation with European Free Trade Association [EFTA], development of interregional cooperation, and—most important of all—the establishment of sound foundations for Poland's future relations with its neighbors. In a unified Europe, the traditional danger areas—especially regarding military threats to peaceful coexistence—will gradually disappear. Instead, we must expect to see a range of "new generation" risks in such areas as the economy, technology, and the environment.

On the other hand, a belief that a prompt unification of Europe could provide a panacea for all social ills and shortcomings is, to say the least, a very naive view. The process will be long and far from easy. When the time is right, the military pacts still in existence should be dissolved and new structures, designed to ensure our joint security, should be set up in their place.

Citizens Movement-Democratic Action

Zbigniew Bujak, national representative:

1. It is not valid. Previously, the flagship attribute of the left-wing orientation was its stand on economy and the ownership question, but now the left worldwide has abandoned this doctrine. Another of the left-wing camp's attributes was its concern with social welfare policy, but the latter has been incorporated into right-wing parties. It seems to me that a division based on the given party's European program (whether priority is to be given to nationalist elements or openness to Europe) is more relevant. Considering, however, that a left-wing camp (Lipski, Bugaj) and a right-wing camp (Democratic Right Forum) are currently being established, we are placed in the political center.

2. We will take the direction that supports a broadly interpreted middle stratum: those who build up their own "tools of the trade." Ours is a proposition for a larger part of the working class and peasant groups. We pin our greatest hopes on the younger generation.

3. If it stays on course, it will prove itself correct. There is a danger that one political group or another could decide that the revolutionary way is the optimum choice.

4. The government's "evolutionary" program.

5. This criterion is not conclusive in determining differences between various political parties. At the moment, state intervention is severely restricted and concerns only the finance sphere. In the future it should be translated into a program of a political nature, because alternative economic programs are bound to spring up very quickly.

6. The past months were a period of "clearing up" the political and economic field. Now comes the time for the relevant programs to be formulated. Incidentally, the government lacks competent partners with whom to set them up—that is, peasant parties and trade unions.

7. Yes. In the spring of next year.

8. It should take the form of a general election, convened as soon as possible—preferably this October.

9. We believe that the parliament should command the strongest position.

10. Naturally, we favor the concept of "Citizens Poland."

11. It should not.

12. Poland should pursue the difficult policy of allowing foreign capital in, but it must not allow a situation whereby just one country's foreign capital dominates the market (we would welcome Japanese or American capital). We should, however, not fear and resist an influx of German capital. It could open up for us the way to other countries. In the East we should watch out for political ferment, a possible civil war, or a new revolution. It is

essential that Soviet republics establish their statehood and national identity in an evolutionary process.

13. Regarding a preferred security system, I believe that secure economic capital—with sufficient diversification and wide distribution—should provide a satisfactory guarantee of stability. In this context, military pacts could lose their significance.

Labor Party

Andrzej Micewski, party spokesman:

1. We believe that this division is perfectly valid, not only in Poland, but throughout Europe, where it is also very real. We place ourselves in the center—without qualifiers.

2. Christian democracy traditionally promotes solidarity among all social groups (working people and people living off capital) because the philosophy of market economy assumes the necessity of cooperation between capital and labor.

3. We believe that the changes currently underway in Poland suffer from certain weaknesses. Economic transformations are based solely on monetarism instead of involving integrated changes, while the political transformations—already in effect—went in the direction of dualism instead of pluralism.

4. As far as the principles of democracy are concerned, acceleration would appear a correct measure, but when we consider the fact that the government has three daily papers at its disposal, whereas we have none, we tend to prefer the festina lente principle.

5. Too much in the strictly financial province and too little with regards to creating favorable conditions for the development of the private sector.

6. Yes, we share this view in full.

7. As far as the principles of democracy are concerned, the elections should take place as soon as possible; however, considering the restricted access to the mass media, we would prefer the election campaign to follow a suitably restrained and steady course.

8. It should be done through a general public vote.

9. Neither the one nor the other. It should be a parliamentary system [apparent line drop] intervention if parliament is split up politically in too many ways, and thus becomes incapable of arriving at decisions. The FRG model could provide a good example here.

10. Neither "Citizens Poland" nor "National Poland," but a pluralistic Poland, deeply committed to its society.

11. No. We aspire to a state which would be fully tolerant and not theocratic. At the same time, the colossal historical and current role of the Catholic Church in Poland should be taken into account. The church should be consulted on socially significant decisions; the latter should have as much access to the public as other institutions and forces within the state system.

12. We do not expect to see a military threat. On the other hand, we expect to see the emergence of a vast economic power commanded by unified Germany—a power which will necessitate an establishment of a collective security system in Europe, because economic pressures can be just as dangerous as military pressures. This is why we believe that Poland should be equally active in its East-oriented as in its West-oriented policy, even though we are fully aware of the dangers inherent in the situation currently prevailing in the USSR.

13. No. In place of the present structures we should create a collective European security system which would, in some ways, be a continuation of the CSCE policy line.

Union for Real Politics

Janusz Korwin-Mikke, chairman of the Main Council:

1. Yes. The division is valid. The right-wing orientation can be defined in two ways. Adherents of the first definition want to dictate the principles of ethics and law, but not the principles of economy. In this sense, we are on the extreme right. On the other hand, if we interpret the right-wing orientation in terms of an economic system, we are placed somewhere in the center.

2. We represent people who prefer to take risks and speak the truth.

3. From a formal and political viewpoint, we believe that the direction is basically correct. There should be fewer laws, but they should be strictly observed. At the moment there are certainly fewer laws, but they are still not respected. The desired changes are ostensibly taking place, but there are cases where the confused mixture of market economy and command system is far worse than the command system in its pure form.

4. We are definitely in favor of acceleration.

5. Our answer should be obvious.

6. We believe that such a program should not exist at all.

7. Yes.

8. It should be conducted by an assembly of specially chosen electors, just as in the United States.

9. No single power element should dominate others. There should be a system of "counterweights" and other guarantees against it.

10. We most definitely see the state as separate from the nation.

11. The Catholic ethical system should be incorporated into the state legislation since the Catholic religion plays a major and dominant role in the life of the state—and that should be all. Nevertheless, believers should, for

example, be guaranteed legal validity of marriage contracts solemnized exclusively by the church and not be forced to repeat them before state officials.

12. I see absolutely no economic danger threatening us from anywhere. Instead, I see profitable commercial exchange. The East does not seem particularly threatening. The Germans could threaten us if, and when, socialists come to power there, but this does not appear to be in the cards. As long as the conservative orientation is the dominant force there, we are safe.

13. Poland should aspire to join the EEC, but only according to Mrs. Thatcher's blueprint. If the Delors plan gains the upper hand, we should avoid joining the European Community as if it carried the plague. The Warsaw Pact is virtually nonoperational already, and as for the future joint structures, I favor the concept of a "sea-to-sea bloc."

Christian National Union

Wieslaw Chrzanowski, chairman of the Mazin Board:

1. This is a very strongly stereotyped division, but if we do accept it, then our party is placed to the right of center. It must, however, be stressed that the right-wing camp is highly differentiated.

2. Trade unions and self-government structures are obligated to represent the interests of particular social groups. Political parties aspire to represent the overall interests of the whole country. Nevertheless, now that the past period is over, the most pressing task appears to be a reconstruction of the middle stratum of society.

3. The general direction toward privatization and market economy is correct. We differ in our assessment of particular solutions.

4. We firmly believe that a squaring of accounts with the past is necessary—to a certain degree—for the sake of offering people satisfaction for the wrongs they suffered. Acceleration should be applied to the introduction of structural changes in the economy—and the government's recent moves confirm that it is indeed being applied.

5. There is no consistency here: Freedom reigns in the realm of prices, whereas wages have been put under firm government control. On the whole, we take a view in favor of a liberal policy, but the current situation certainly requires some state intervention.

6. We share this view unreservedly. A shortage of resources is one thing, but an absence of firm principles—according to which all available resources should be managed—is a different problem altogether. Moreover, the method of informing the public about the budgetary distribution of resources leaves a lot to be desired.

7. It will be difficult to conduct the elections before the end of this year. We believe that the beginning of next year—next spring at the latest—could be a feasible date for the elections.

8. It should take the form of general election.

9. There is no question of making a choice here. First of all, we put our money on a broadly interpreted self-government system. The president should not be a symbolic figure; on the other hand, he should not be molded in the American fashion. He should intervene in situations where conflict threatens to develop.

10. All Polish citizens are fully equal, whereas nationality is not a category definable in juridical terms. Nevertheless, the national issue does arise insofar as each national minority is entitled to its own national identity and national culture just as the national majority is entitled to the same values. Today we observe a certain crisis in the phenomenon of patriotism.

11. Belief and official ratification do not go well together. Certain Christian values should be incorporated in the legislative system.

12. At the present time, we see no direct danger from either side. A progressive disintegration of the Soviet Union, however, could create new danger areas if individual republics elect to seek closer ties with a united Germany.

13. We should aspire to join the EEC. Continued attachment to East-oriented military pacts does not guarantee long-term security. Nevertheless, we should not make any abrupt moves in this sphere.

Embassy in Kuwait To Continue Activity

AU0409140390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 4 Sep 90

[Text] As we have been informed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Romanian Embassy in Kuwait will continue its activity, despite the fact that the Iraqi authorities have lifted diplomatic immunity and privileges and have imposed traffic restrictions for all embassies in that country. Through the continuation of the activity of the Romanian Embassy in Kuwait, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs aims at ensuring the application in practice of the UN Security Council resolutions and of the unanimously recognized diplomatic principles and the principles of international law. According to information disseminated by various international press agencies, it follows that, among the East European countries, the embassies of the Soviet Union, GDR, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia have been practically closed and the embassy personnel evacuated.

As a result of the conflict in that area, Romania is among the countries which have suffered considerable material damage through the cancellation of imports of crude oil and of other raw materials from Iraq, which are urgently needed by our economic activity, and through the interruption of some cooperation ventures because of the emergency situation. A group of Iraqi children accompanied by their mothers, who are in our country, today participated in a protest action in connection with the blockade imposed against Iraq as a result of that country's invasion of Kuwait. During this action, a protest note was handed to the UN Information Center in Bucharest.

Government Protests 'False' BBC Report

AU3108074890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2146 GMT 30 Aug 90

["Official News: Protest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—Romania's Government, the Mass Media Department, addressed the British Broadcasting Company a protest in connection with the film broadcast by that television company in the evening of August 29, 1990.

The film showed the antigovernmental rioters putting fire to the headquarter of the Bulgarian Socialist Party in Sofia. The commentator of the film explained that this incident took place in the center of Bucharest, in Romania.

We had to say that under these circumstances such a false piece of news brings real prejudices to the image of Romania in the West, an image which is already deteriorated by partial references to the events from June 13-15, 1990 and by partial references to the present-day political and social life. The Romanian Government had to face difficulties because of such uncomplete informations, which affected unfairly the image of our country abroad.

We hope that this regretful incident the film about Sofia presented as taking place in Bucharest is not a part of a plan of discrediting. We hope that it is a simple mistake.

Having in view what we mentioned above, we ask you an official explanation concerning this incident and we want that the correct information about this incident to be broadcasted at a time of maximum audience. We would like that this broadcasted information to be recorded on a video cassette and to send it to us.

We inform you that in the present-day Romania the freedom of press and the access of the journalists to the information are unlimited.

We hope that BBC reporters, as well trained as those who visited Romania on the occasion of the revolution, will come to visit Romania soon to see what is the real situation in our country and to broadcast objective news about our present-day life.

BBC Apologizes for Report

AU0309083990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0757 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 3/9/1990—The Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry was informed that on August 31, 1990, during the 18.00 hour BBC 1 newscast, the following piece of information was broadcast: "In our Tuesday 18.00 hours newscast, in an account of the political protests in Romania's capital, Bucharest, we inadvertently included the picture of street protests unrelated with the former which were simultaneously taking place in Bulgaria's capital, Sofia. We erroneously presented a burning building in Sofia as the result of the Bucharest incidents. We apologize for this mistake."

Roman, Iliescu Receive Senator Dole 31 Aug

AU3108104890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] A delegation of U.S. senators led by Mr. Robert Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the Senate and well-known personality of U.S. political life, arrived in Bucharest today. The delegation is on a goodwill visit to our country, in keeping with efforts to develop ties between Romania and the United States and to remove certain difficulties and suspicions persisting in bilateral relations.

The delegation conducted talks this morning at government headquarters with Prime Minister Petre Roman. The meeting was attended by Foreign Affairs Minister Adrian Nastase and Adrian Severin, minister, assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with Parliament. Mr. Alan Green, U.S. ambassador to Bucharest, was also present. After the talks, Senator Dole expressed satisfaction with that meeting and said that the discussions conducted by the delegation of senators with the Romanian prime minister are a token of the desire to improve Romanian-U.S. relations.

In his turn, Mr. Petre Roman expressed satisfaction with the talks. He pointed to the frankness and openness of the meeting and to the direct questions put by the U.S. senators and hoped that the latter were satisfied with the answers they received. The prime minister said that, in his opinion, this may be the first important and serious step in raising Romanian-U.S. ties to a much higher level. He also confirmed that Senator Robert Dole had invited him to visit the United States. At this time, the delegation of U.S. senators is being received by President Ion Iliescu.

Describe Talks With Dole

AU3108141290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Report on statements by President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman after their separate meetings with U.S. Senator Robert Dole in Bucharest today—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Romanian President Ion Iliescu received this afternoon, at Cotroceni Palace, the delegation of U.S. senators led by Robert Dole, leader of the Republican minority in the U.S. Senate. After the meeting the U.S. senator made the following statement to the radio station. [passage omitted]

In his turn, Mr. Ion Iliescu said:

[Iliescu] We welcomed and were very pleased with this initiative. This is a representative group of seven senators, representing various states, who, first, showed their interest in us and Romania and the desire to find out, on the spot, about the problems and difficulties we are facing. We consider this a sign of goodwill from the U.S. Senate and from the respective group of senators. As a matter of fact, they also emphasized this aspect in the discussion we held today.

We conducted a free and open talk, without restrictions of any kind, with a view to briefing each other on our concerns. As far as we are concerned, we took this opportunity to express the desire to remove all residues and obstacles in the way of open relations between our countries. Likewise, we expressed the desire to eliminate certain misunderstandings resulting from incomplete or distorted information or from a lack of concrete knowledge of our realities, problems, and difficulties. Once these things are removed, the way will be paved for better mutual understanding.

I believe that this visit and our talks today will indeed facilitate a better mutual understanding.

[Announcer] As reported, immediately after arriving in Bucharest in the morning, the delegation of U.S. senators was received by Prime Minister Petre Roman at Victoria Palace. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Prime Minister Petre Roman, a few minutes ago you held talks with a U.S. delegation. Could you say a few words about the talks and what you think. It seems that the meeting was fruitful.

[Roman] This is not just any U.S. delegation but a delegation of the U.S. Senate led by Senator Robert Dole, the leader of the Republican minority in the Senate. The delegation is paying a fact-finding visit to this area of Europe. I do not want to hide that, given the previous signals regarding the position of the U.S. Administration, I was somehow concerned about whether we would be able to make the senators—that is, the U.S. delegation—understand what the actual political and economic facts in our country are. From this viewpoint, I can say that I am satisfied.

We had partners who asked very direct questions, some of them—even in their own opinion—which might have been irritating, but we were not irritated. On the contrary, we answered them with great sincerity and openness, and I noted that the senators were satisfied with our answers and this moment probably marks the first serious and important step toward reestablishing Romanian-U.S. relations at a much higher level.

[Announcer] From the statement by the U.S. senator, I understood that you were invited to visit the United States.

[Roman] Yes, he said so several times during our meeting, especially toward the end of it, and I understand that he mentioned this invitation even publicly during a statement to you. My reaction is easy to imagine. I am very pleased to go to the United States, first of all, in order to conduct a very open dialogue with all those who are interested in understanding Romania today: in the Senate, in Congress, in the U.S. Administration, and among the extensive U.S. public. It will probably not be easy, but since—as I have repeatedly said—we are honest and open people and since the same tradition exists in the United States—namely, to warmly welcome those who are honest and open—I believe that this meeting will be of particular significance.

Ex-King Calls Bucharest Regime 'Dictatorship'

AU3108163990 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian 28 Aug 90 p 4

[ASSOCIATED PRESS-based report: "Former King Mihai of Romania: The Bucharest Regime Is a Dictatorship"]

[Text] Ex-King Mihai I of Romania stated on Wednesday [22 August] that eight months after the overthrow of the communist tyrant Ceausescu, the country continues to exist under a dictatorial regime.

During a news conference that was held in San Lorenzo de Escorial (Spain), following a lecture and some university meetings, King Mihai, who is 67 years of age, said that the result of the May elections was not the formation of a democratic regime.

"What I have seen so far does not represent democracy, although it could be a step in that direction," he said, according to the independent press agency EUROPA PRESS. He also labeled the leadership of Ion Iliescu a "dictatorship, although a mellow type, which could be a road leading toward democracy."

The former monarch also said that the execution of Ceausescu and his wife Elena, which took place under the supervision of the National Salvation Front, was inevitable, although uncivilized.

Royal Family Foundation To Help Reconstruction

AU3108163890 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 29 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Initiative of Romania's Royal Family—Foundation for Supporting our Country's Reconstruction"]

[Text] The Romanian royal family has set up a foundation in Switzerland to support Romania's reconstruction. The documents setting up this foundation were signed by Princess Margarita of Romania. The address is Foundation Margarita of Romania, P.O. Box 2637, 1211—Geneva 2—Switzerland.

The members of the Foundation Committee include such figures as playwright Eugen Ionesco and violinist Yehudi Menuhin. It was specified that the foundation will grant aid to protect the cultural, architectural, artistic, and historic heritage of Romania. Interest has been shown in supporting the educational system in Romania by placing stress on those subjects that will dwell on the importance of human rights. Other areas of interest of this foundation include public health and environmental protection.

According to a spokesman of this foundation, the organization is supported by institutions of a humanitarian nature in Switzerland, Belgium, and the United States. It was specified that the Romanian authorities support the foundation.

'Obtuse' Romanians, Foreign 'Encouragement' Viewed

AU0109164390 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 24 Aug 90 pp 1, 3

[Eugen Negrea article: "The Technique of Encouragement"]

[Excerpt] The meeting that took place on Sunday [19 August] afternoon between the Hungarian Romanians from Romania and the Hungarian Hungarians from Hungary [19 August] at the Romanian-Hungarian border, near Oradea Municipality, was indeed touching. It was touching for the participants, who made wrecks of their boots in hundreds of lively czardas dances, because for us, simple viewers of the Hungarian language program of the Romanian Television, only one thing was bewildering: the wish of the merry dancers to enter Europe together.

A difficult dilemma has fallen upon us, and I do not know who will be able to solve it graciously. I do not think that even Hungary's foreign minister, Mr. Geza Jeszenszky, knows with which foot one should dance the sirba [Romanian folk dance], so he just skips several forms of politeness included in the diplomatic code and warns us: "We would like to encourage the Romanians to be less obtuse." Certainly, there were other such niceties whispered in the ears of Radio Free Europe, but this is not the subject that we are interested in at this moment. We are interested in the above statement. Definitely, we do not need encouragement, given the simple reason that we are not a soccer team which needs the advise of the audience. And something else, after so many years of...we know very well what, we have become immune to encouragement, recommendations, and especially to threats. The issue of "obtuseness," however, remains interesting; it is a dilemma that concerns us, too, mostly because—why should we not admit it?—we have reached the same conclusion: We are obtuse! But in a completely different meaning. We are obtuse because we do not see our own interest, because we fail to differentiate between good and bad, because we do not have the training to juggle with the immediate reality, and because we are not even in the habit of noticing the glassy eyes of those who view us as Swiss cows—that is, ready to be milked. We lack the courage, or better said, we are reluctant to grab the collar of "terrorists" who took shelter among us and stop their actions of sabotage, which are more perfidious than those committed during the revolution. How else could one explain the series of failures in almost every field of activity? How many "terrorists" lie daily in the sun on the rusty scaffolding of house building sites without caring about those who have been waiting for a year to receive an apartment? For example, in Focsani, there are 7,000 applications for housing, but only 400 out of 1,100 apartments planned to be completed this year have been completed so far. This situation is not unique. In almost every county people face the same shortages. The excuses for not fulfilling promises are known and we have learned them by heart, but can excuses be used for shelter? It is very painful to see that people do not work properly but it is even more serious that there are only a few of those who look at this question from the other point of view, why don't people work properly? Remaining in the field of construction, we involuntarily bump into the old obstacles of hourly pay for manual labor. Were a plumber for instance paid strictly in accordance with the work he carries out and the current hourly pay, he would not be able to come even close to his monthly pay, so.... We are just people, are we not? And on the basis of the same principle of false humanitarianism, the production costs

have increased in an alarming way while labor productivity decreased, so we should not be too surprised by the conclusion that our future is...hazy enough. [passage omitted]

Minister Zisu Talks With French Official

AU3108201790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1757 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 31/8/1990—Mr. Mihai Zisu, minister of resources and industry, received on 31 August Mr. Claude Iegy, director for strategy and plan of the "Usinor-Sacilor" group, who headed the 45-member delegation of French experts to the symposium on current questions of metal industry in the two countries organized in Galati over 27-30 August.

During the interview aspects were approached of the Romanian-French cooperation in metal industry.

At the end of the meeting Mr. Claude Iegy stated to a ROMPRES editor: We have come to reestablish the cooperative relations that used to exist between the Romanian and French metal workers. We intend to intensify technological exchanges and cooperation in staff training and technical assistance. I think that at present the Romanian metal industry has certain advantages, it needs steel and boasts large iron-and-steel works. Particularly important is also the advantageous position of the Galati combine, close to the Black Sea and downstream the Danube. I would like to note the climate of cooperation, the spirit of understanding in solving problems, in promoting bold solutions.

The same day, Mr. Claude Iegy was received and held talks with Mr. Petru Rares, undersecretary of state, vice-chairman of the Romanian Agency for the Promotion of Investment and Economic Assistance Abroad.

Giurgiu-Ruse Ecological Situation Noted

AU3108201990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1841 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/8/1990—Filip Ishpekov, Bulgaria's deputy minister of foreign affairs, received Romania's ambassador to Sofia whom he gave a note with the Bulgarian side's considerations on the abnormal ecological situation in the Giurgiu-Ruse area.

Starting from the principled understanding between the two prime ministers on the necessity of an international survey, the Bulgarian side proposes the organisation—in the following days—of a meeting between groups of experts to establish the concrete ways of making the international survey in the controversial questions regarding the ecological situation in that area.

Political Parties View University Square Protest

FSN Portrays People as 'Infecting Mob'

AU3108084790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1555 GMT 30 Aug 90

["Political Life: Communique of the National Salvation Front Concerning Events in University Square"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—The Steering Board of the National Salvation Front [FSN] issued a communique reading inter alia:

"Over last week, the socio-political situation in Romania has been seriously affected by a series of events meant to upset and stress the population of the capital city. Starting from a lawful demonstration, groups of people obsessively attempted to block car traffic in the University Square zone, to seriously disturb public order in the centre of the capital city.

Hundreds of thousands, probably millions of people saw on TV people insulting one another, street attacks, beatings, cars broken, attacks on the NSF [FSN] headquarters, and other hooliganic actions that make the population feel strained and insecure. More than that, police interventions, measures taken by the Ministry of the Interior, local administration appeals could not put an end to those obvious tentatives of disturbing public order and normal life.

No political formation assumed responsibility or any connection with this so-called "civic-political" "infecting mob" in the "hot" zone in Bucharest's central area, which is but natural for all social-political components of Romania's young democracy.

The National Salvation Front launches a fresh appeal to all the political formations, organizations and parties to promote contacts to exchange opinions, to contribute to cooling down such tensions, to seek adequate solutions that should meet with large approval and a true national political consensus."

UDMR, Others Discuss Incident

AU3108110790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1030 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 31/8/1990—Daily ADEVARUL keeps publishing opinions of political parties on the recent events in the Bucharest University Square.

Geza Domokos, chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Union in Romania [UDMR—Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania], opines that two categories of people gather in the square: some are honest people who express dissatisfaction with the shortcomings in the economic activity and in supplies, and others, rather numerous, who are elements directly used by organizers to provoke most spectacular violence acts. The MDUR

[UDMR] chairman urges the bona fide dissatisfied people not to support these demonstrations with their presence.

The Initiative Committee of the National Liberal Party—Young Wing, assessing that the University Square has become some kind of forum of the capital, expresses its indignation about the actions of the provocateur groups who indulge in unjustified violence.

"Our party condemns the actions in the University Square, it declares for the observance of the fundamental human rights including the right to free expression of opinions but does not agree that this should be done by radical means or by force" says the Steering Committee of the Democratic Labour Party.

"To believe that once at a rostrum you already are a politician is laughable and dangerous alike" notes Stefan Cazimir, chairman of the Free Exchange Party. "Dilettantism is reprovable in any domain. In politics it is ridiculous and harmful," he adds referring to the events in the University Square.

TU, Students Deny Participation

AU3108085190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1433 GMT 30 Aug 90

["The University Square: The Stand of the Free Trade Unions and Students"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—The Presidium of the General Council of the National Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Romania and the Standing Bureau of the National Student Independent Union show in a declaration released in connection with the repeated attempts of groups of citizens to break the road traffic again in Bucharest zones with busy traffic that:

None of the organizations affiliated to us is involved in these actions.

If the reasons making some persons organize such actions are of a political nature, the legal, civilized, democratic way of expression of their claims can only be to refer the claims to the authorized political formations or other legal ways so that they may promote their legitimate rights and interests.

If the reason of the demonstrations is of an economic-social nature, the fittest way of settlement can only be a legal one, meaning that they should state their claims and sustain them through the agency of the administrative bodies and professional organizations, including the trade unions that have precisely this mission.

Considering that the anarchic, chaotic actions for imposing non-democratic ways cannot give a solution, we welcome the initiative of the Bucharest mayor general to start the dialogue, the only way to avoid that the new structures of the post-revolution Romanian society be seriously harmed, to avoid the violation of public order, the creation of serious tension, the disruption of the decent citizens' everyday activities.

23 August 1944, December Revolution Compared

AU0109151190 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 23 Aug 90 p 3

[Statement issued by the Steering Committee of the Social Democratic Party: "Declaration on the Act of 23 August 1944"]

[Text] Now, at the end of this millennium, Romania is experiencing days of great moral and spiritual tension as great efforts are being made by all truly democratic forces to build a new destiny.

Twenty-three August 1944 still lingers in our hearts like a symbol. Having reached a precipice when the very destiny of our nation was endangered, the politicians and the democratic forces of that time decided on a course that was long awaited by all Romanians.

The Social Democratic Party [PSD], led by Constantin Titel Petrescu, participated actively together with the other democratic forces, the king and the Army, in the big political battle—at home and abroad—that succeeded in reestablishing Romania, on the basis of the act of 23 August 1944, within its natural alliances.

The hopes of freedom could not be fulfilled, because Romania was thrown into an even more corrupt and fierce dictatorship imposed by Soviet tanks.

Forty-six years have elapsed since this event. During that time our hopes were always alive, waiting for the day on which we would shake off, for good, humiliation and resignation.

Today we may say that the aspirations of the Romanian people, expressed on 23 August 1944, for a free and democratic life were rekindled by the revolution of our youth in December 1989.

To fulfill these ideals, the Romanian Social Democratic Party has pledged, together with the progressive and democratic forces, to reestablish Romania among the ranks of the free, dignified, and prosperous countries of a united Europe.
[signed] ON BEHALF OF THE STEERING COMMITTEE OF THE ROMANIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY [capitalization as published]

Brasov Tractor Factory Workers End Strike

AU3008112390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0942 GMT 30 Aug 90

["'Tractorul' Brasov Resumes Work"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—A parliamentary delegation headed by Sergiu Nicolaescu and Emil Stoica, both of them representing Brasov in the highest

legislative body, went to the tractor-building enterprise, with the consent of the leaders of the unions on strike and of the managerial body of the "Brotherhood" union federation. Following talks, a series of measures have been established and it has been agreed for work to be resumed on August 30 in the morning, fixing September 5 as deadline for finding solution to the issues remained unsolved so far.

Roman Issues Statement on Strike

AU3108072990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1821 GMT 30 Aug 90

["Prime Minister's Communique on the Cessation of the Brasov Strike"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—The decision of the workers of "Tractorul" Brasov to cease their strike, resume work and production so much needed by this country, is the only solution to overcome the great and numerous difficulties confronting us, the communique reads.

The communique further stresses that the government is duty bound and assumes the responsibility to provide the best framework for the operation of the works in the aggregate of the nation economy. The government also assumes the responsibility for the living conditions of the entire population.

I still wish to give course to the Brasov workers' invitation and pay a visit to machine building enterprises in that city.

Government Meeting Discusses Economic Issues

AU0109203690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] A government meeting, chaired by Prime Minister Petre Roman, was held today at Victory Palace. The agenda included a report on the results of the major socioeconomic indicators from the first seven months of this year, a report on the stage reached at the end of the second quarter of 1990, on the results of the planned parameters for production capacities put into operation, and a report on the foreign trade activity carried out in the first seven months of 1990.

Since the beginning of this year, 819 enterprises registered losses of 25 billion lei. A much different and happier situation, however, was reported in the area of agriculture, where out of 5,054 agricultural production cooperatives, only 216 registered losses. The government believes that in accordance with the principle expressed in the declaration-program, enterprises and ministries should overcome the current stage of bureaucratic inertia, and make sure that mostly young people, who are capable of making use of their competence, courage, and honesty, are employed in managerial positions at all levels. In this context, there was criticism that in ministerial apparatuses and in managerial positions of enterprises too many experienced but old-fashioned personnel have still been retained, on the grounds that the experience which is not backed up by value is indispensible. [sentence as heard]

The government will likewise set up a group to study and examine the efficiency of the activity of design in the economy. Examining the state of foreign trade, the government acknowledged the improvement in the relations between imports and exports in August. On this occasion it was again stressed that banks will support enterprises which import to complete export production. At the end of the meeting, the government approved a package of draft laws which will be presented to the parliament, laws which will ensure a smoother road toward autonomy for enterprises, while concomitantly accelerating the reform process.

In connection with the subjects discussed during the meeting, Minister Adrian Severin, assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with the Parliament, told our radio station: It is a descending production curve, a curve which moves in an opposite direction from salaries—that is, salaries increase and the production decreases. This situation no economist, no financing body, and no economy can tolerate. Within this context, the participants discussed enterprises whose production is very low, that is to say enterprises with a very low profitability and efficiency, suggesting that they should be put under supervision—that is, they should be redesigned immediately, and their personnel structure and expenditures should be reviewed. The most radical measures should be taken if these enterprises cannot prove to be viable economic agents.

Iliescu, Roman, Barladeanu, Martian Hold Meeting

AU0209180790 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] President Ion Iliescu met with Prime Minister Petre Roman, Senate President Mr. Ion Barladeanu, and Deputies Chamber President Mr. Dan Martian at Cotroceni Palace yesterday, 1 September. The president was presented reports on the activity of the parliamentary commissions, which are in charge of examining the bills drafted so far. He was also informed about the work of the parliamentary commission in charge of investigating the events of 13-15 June. The prime minister discussed the packet of laws that will be sent to Parliament in the coming days, as well some aspects of the current economic situation under conditions of implementing reforms initiated by the government.

National Agency for Privatization Set Up

AU3108161390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1431 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/8/1990—The National Agency for Privatization (ANP) was set up following a

government resolution, being a department subordinated to it, said Mr. Petre Terzie, secretary of state and chief of the newly created department.

The ANP will be a consulting agency for all decision-makers. The new institution will work out draft normative acts, work methodologies, formation and development strategies for the private sector. Likewise, in cooperation with specialized [word indistinct], programmes will be worked out for the training of experts, especially of private enterprisers.

Referring to the agency's activities, in view of applying article 23 of the Law No. 15/1990 regarding securities, Mr. Terzie stated that a computer-controlled working system would be also made. The agency will mediate nominal securities and share exchanges. Beside buying shares with nominal securities, Mr. Terzie specified, the transfer of state property to private administration will also be made through licencing, by-licencing, leasing, sub-leasing, juridical and economic operations, in the application of which the agency is to play the role of organizer and mediator between state and enterpriser.

Answering those who rightfully criticized the system of authorizing private initiative, Mr. Petre Terzie specified that the authorization system would probably be given up and replaced by technical and economic licencing and specific managerial assistance. A law of commercial companies will be soon submitted to the Parliament for debate.

As for the privatization law, Mr. Terzie also said, a bill will be submitted for public debate through the mass media.

PNT-cd Appeal for Democratic Forces Coalition

AU3008170790 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 23 Aug 90 p 1

[Corneliu Coposu-signed "Appeal" of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party]

[Text] The leadership of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party [PNT-cd], which has struggled for uniting all democratic forces of Romania, for a common single list, and for a single candidate in the elections, carefully examining the serious situation of our country from a social, political, and economic viewpoint; taking account of the particular danger threatening the Romanian people's future; considering the measures of extreme violence and unprecedented terror which the regime at the helm of the state organized to eliminate the opposition and to annihilate the beginnings of democracy; taking into consideration the intolerable campaign of disinformation, slandering, intimidation, and manipulation of public opinion, as well as the events staged of late to justify terror, has launched a PATRIOTIC APPEAL [capitalization as published] to all traditional political parties, newly established political democratic formations, free trade unions, democratic unions, the Group of Social Dialogue, students organizations, independent groups, the Timisoara Alliance, to figures of prestige in all areas, intellectuals, workers, peasants, and all honest people of all strata and all nationalities to participate in a COALITION OF THE DEMOCRATIC FORCES [capitalization as published] for: the country's independence and sovereignty, ensuring basic human rights and public freedom, integrating Romania in the European spirit, and for curbing the tendency toward a new totalitarian system.

The aim of the coalition will be to ensure the dignity of man freed from fear and protected against abuse and repression, to promote the ideals of the young generation burdened by oppression, to struggle for the freedom and independence of the press, radio, and television, for the formulation of a constitution and democratic laws, for correct elections, social truth and justice, for supporting private initiative, improving the cultural standard, and for establishing calm and peace in our country in the spirit of Christian beliefs and morals.

The coalition of the democratic forces will respect the statutes and program of all affiliated organizations which should be in solidarity with the targets included in its platform while preserving their own doctrine, ideology, and tactics.

Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party.
1 July 1990

PNT-cd Explains Possible Factions, Splits

AU0109144590 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 25 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed editorial: "An Explanation" on Factions, Splits in the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party]

[Text] Many readers favoring the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party [PNT-cd] have come up with questions because they are alarmed about possible factions and splits in our party.

We have a single answer based on the actual situation of the PNT-cd in Bucharest and throughout the country: **Due to its consistent democratic policy and its programs, which are fully in keeping with the desires of the broadest strata of citizens regarding our country's democratic development and instillment of its ideology in the current national awareness under the sign of modernization, of a genuine democratic chance, and of the prestige and attention it enjoys in Western countries, the PNT-cd is increasing its power in both its ranks and in Romanian public opinion.**

The current totalitarian and neocommunist power of the National Salvation Front [FSN] that is ruling our country, is not oblivious to this. After succeeding in dealing a serious blow to the other democratic group—the National Liberal Party [PNL] by supporting a so-called "young wing," and after it silenced the largest part

of the parliamentary and extra-parliamentary political opposition, the FSN once again directed its activity with all its strength toward destabilizing the PNT-cd; it did not succeed in annihilating our party although it made use of all methods beginning with slander up to assassination. This explains the more than suspect preoccupation of Romanian television, an institution that serves the FSN without any conditions, in spreading a number of news reports of late in connection with one or another type of dissatisfaction within the PNT-cd.

We want to mention the fact that within any democratic party one or several factions may appear for reasons of self-serving, ideological radicalism, personnel relations, and organizational incompatibility.

The FSN usually exploits the weak elements of one or another party—self-servers craving power and rapid social climbers and sometimes even people of good faith who lack the political vision that is so necessary at this time. These are, generally speaking, elements lacking humane and political qualities—that is, political lumpen adventurers and individuals lacking character and principles.

Even in countries with old democracies almost each party has "wings," "dissidents," and "groups"—within its ranks and outside it. This is part and parcel of the unwritten law of democracy and is a sign that proves not only political fervor, but also the circulation of ideas. The PNT-cd itself had numerous dissidents or groups between the two wars, some of which split off as independent political formations.

Thus, a normal process in a normal democratic situation. But not under the social and political conditions in Romania of this time when neocommunism—through the FSN—tries to reinstate totalitarianism and to turn it into a party-state. Consequently, as members of a democratic party or as citizens concerned about political developments in our country, we have to be cautious about any formation which we hear about on the radio and television (institutions, we want to repeat, serving the FSN) or through the scandal press, all the more so when we are speaking about the main opponent of the FSN—that is, about the PNT-cd—which is now going through a profound process of preparations for the congress and for rejuvenating the party, of revising its programs, and of modernizing its ideology. These are concerns that are regarded by the NSF and "the well-meaning people" only with intolerance.

Leadership of PNT-cd Departments Listed

AU3108102890 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 28 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed article: "Departments of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party's Leadership"—certain positions blank as published]

[Text] During the 16-17 August 1990 meeting of the Steering Committee of the National Peasants (Christian Democratic) Party [PNT-cd], the following chiefs and deputy chiefs of the departments of the party's central leadership were elected:

I. Departments of Studies and Doctrine

Strategy of Economic Reform:

—chief: Ion Ratiu, doctor of economy
—deputy:—

Christian-Democratic Doctrine:

—chief: Matei Boila, Greek-Catholic canon, economist
—deputy: Ion Caraza, doctor of theology

Agriculture, Gardening, Forestry, Food Industry

—chief: Constantin Cristescu, agricultural engineer
—deputies: Vasile Joanta, engineer; Mircea Oanta, forestry engineer

Industry, Trade:

—chief: Ulm Pineanu, doctor engineer
—deputies: Ion Diaconu, engineer; Mircea Sava, engineer

Finance

—chief: Mircea Ciumara, doctor of economy
—deputy: Marcela Ion, financial-banking economist

Economy-Privatization

—chief: Radu Vasile, doctor of economy
—deputies: Nicolae Danciulescu, economist; Haralambie Becheanu, economist

Ecology:

—chief: —
—deputies: Mihai Dumitrache, medical superintendent; Ion Cristea, head of research collective

Cybernetics, Economic Forecast:

—chief: Serban Sandulescu, doctor of engineering
—deputy: Petrica Iordache, bachelor of law and academy

Research, Computer Science, Futurology:

—chief: Horia Oprica, doctor of engineering
—deputy: Tudor Dunca, electronics engineer

Education, Culture, Arts:

—chief: Adrian Marino, literary critic
—deputy: Ion Iuga, writer

National Minorities, Religious Affairs:

—chief: Vasile Vetisanu, ethnologist
—deputy: Aurel Ludosan, economis

Basic Rights and Freedoms:

—chief: Mihai Ghiga, attorney
—deputy: Vasile Lupu, scientific researcher

Constitution, Legislation:

—chief: Constantin Amzuta, attorney
—deputy: Emil Popescu, attorney

Security and National Defense:

—chief: Valentin Gabrielescu, engineer
—deputy: Vasile Valusescu, professor

Labor, Health, Social Assistance:

—chief: Rasvan Dobrescu, attorney
—deputies: Mircea Mihalcea, doctor of medicine; Dan Barbaresso, dentist superintendent

Problems of State Administration:

—chief: Traian Iliescu, engineer
—deputy: —

Sports, Tourism:

—chief: Serban Chica, engineer
—deputies: Mircea Roman, professor; Renato Iliescu, journalist

Cultural Relations With Romanians Abroad:

—chief: Nicolae Lupan, writer and journalist
—deputies: Gh.G. Copil, professor; Teodor Nor, journalist

II. Operational Departments

Propaganda, Informations, Bulletin

—chief: Ion Manea, engineer
—deputies: Petre Oprea, engineer; Constantin Badea, journalist

Press and Publishing Houses:

—chief: Ilie Paunescu, writer and journalist
—deputy: Victor Isac, writer and journalist

Internal Relations:

—chief: Liviu Petrina, university lecturer
—deputy: Pompiliu Macarescu, engineer

Foreign Relations:

chief: Iftene Pop, doctor of international law

deputy: Valentin Turcanu, Louisiana University doctor

Relations With the Parliament:

—chief: Nicolae Ionescu-Galbeni, professor
—deputy: —

Economic, Financial:

—Chief: Sergiu Macarie, bachelor of law, economy
—deputy: —

Judicial:

—chief: Ion Dinu, attorney
—deputy: —

Administrative:

—chief: Ion Marincus, agricultural engineer
—deputy: Vichente Zagan, engineer

Republican Peasants Party Elects Leader

AU3108083590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1900 GMT 30 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 30/8/1990—The Republican Peasants Party has released a communique reading that that party's national conference took place on August 25, 1990. The political line and orientation of the party in the near future were established, and the conference appreciated as positive the renewal of the leadership, as well as that of such staff of the branches that proved to be corrupt and incompatible with a revolutionary party.

The conference elected the new leadership of the party to be in charge until January 25, 1991, when the congress of the Republican Peasants Party will take place.

Mr. Gheorghe Pantea was elected president of the party.

Students Want To Join European Youth Programs

AU3108173990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1705 GMT 31 Aug 90

["Official News: Romanian Youth's Appeal to European Parliament"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 31/8/1990—An appeal of the Romanian youth was conveyed to the European Parliament, the European Economic Community, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the 24 group member countries which reads:

Under the new conditions brought about by the 22 December 1989 revolution, profound changes are taking place in Romania with a tremendous impetus on the entire political, social, economic and cultural life of the country.

As an active and direct participant in the December revolution, the Romanian youth want to make their active contribution to creating and consolidating a real democracy in Romania, to carrying out the basic restoration process of Romanian society, to enabling a political pluripartitism and a market economy, to getting Romania more involved in the process of creating a new Europe.

We perfectly realize that such a contribution can be neither effective nor fruitful unless highly qualified specialists are involved in this process. A modern economy, a genuine state of law are not conceivable without

specialists in advanced technologies, management, banking, information science, law, human rights legislation a.o.

That is why, the Romanian youth want to join the youth in the other European countries and participate in the educational programmes under the aegis of the Group of 24 and the European Communities—tempus project, European training foundation, youth for Europe, young workers exchange programme etc.

The Romanian youth is therefore making a warm appeal to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, to the European Parliament and to all member countries of the Group of 24 so that they consider, in a spirit of understanding and goodwill, the possibility to giving access to the young people from Romania to the above mentioned programmes.

Expressing the hope that appeal will be met with due consideration, we are confident that an answer, possibly a solution, will be given as soon possible so that Romanian students can benefit [from] these programmes starting with the academic year 1990-1991.

The appeal is signed by the University Students' League, the Free Student Trade Union, the Architect Students' Association, the Economist Students' Trade Union, the Free Youth Association, the Students Union of Romania and Tempus National Office.

Union of Democratic Journalists Holds Convention

AU0209154390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1458 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/9/1990—The proceedings of the National Convention of the Union of Romanian Democratic Journalists continued in Bucharest on Saturday. During the debates the participants decided with a majority of votes that their organisation be called Romanian Journalists Associations.

The participants also adopted a declaration whereby they express their stand on the principles of the freedom of press, on the way to establish the association's home and foreign relations, as well as on the defence of the economic interests of independent periodicals.

"Admitting in no way the manipulation of information through distortions, the Romanian Journalists Association firmly protests against the continuation of that practice in certain radio and television as well as in certain ROMPRES services. These mass media should belong to all categories of citizens. Changes are required not only in their structure but also in their orientation", the declaration reads inter alia.

The association council will meet again on September 10 to elect its steering committee.

Party Demands 'Facts' of U.S. Senators' Visit

LD3108183290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1439 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Skopje, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—The Party of Yugoslavs from Macedonia addressed an open letter to the SFRY Presidency in which it called on the collective state president to publicize and explain all important facts in connection with the U.S. congressmen's visit to our country.

The open letter says that the mentioned U.S. politicians came to Yugoslavia in capacity of "guardians of the status and rights of the Albanian minority" and that they behaved as "supervisors."

The Party of Yugoslavs wants the following question to be answered: Are these visits preceded by official U.S. demands, and were these visits permitted by competent federal bodies? It is also requested to make known whether possible U.S. pressures exist, no matter of what nature.

The open letter adds that insight into the implementation of human rights and democracy in another country should be carried out under the control of the UN and other official international organizations, while direct investigations, the letter says in conclusion, can be carried out only on the basis of reciprocity.

JDS Expresses 'Indignation' Over Visit

LD3109182690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1445 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Banjaluka, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—We express our members' deep indignation over the impermissable, incompetent, and arrogant interfering of a U.S. Senate delegation, headed by Robert Dole, into internal affairs of a still sovereign European country, Yugoslavia—thus says a public statement of the Yugoslav Democratic Party [Jugoslovenska Demokratska Stranka—JDS] from Banjaluka.

A shameful statement which the U.S. Senators gave for Croatian Television in which they stressed that the situation in Kosovo is "beneath Europe's dignity"—unlike the alleged "real democratic changes in Croatia and Slovenia"—obviously represents offering a "recipe" for what kind of "a new Yugoslavia" this group of Americans wishes to have.

However, it is really beneath Europe's dignity that such, like Robert Dole, should teach the oldest Europeans what is and what is not dignified for descendants of one of the oldest and most cultured European nations.

Our party, the statement goes on to say, urgently calls on the SFRY Presidency to ask a most competent and a most professional European commission to visit Kosovo, which would consist of historians and sociologists, not of politicians.

Kosovo Albanians Strike; Kosovo Not 'Paralyzed'

LD0309080590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0720 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—Kosovo's Albanians have heeded the call to strike announced by the so-called Independent Trade Union. The Union exclusively comprises members of this nationality. In addition to those who failed to come to work, schoolchildren in the Albanian-language primary and secondary schools are also boycotting the first day of the new academic year.

The Albanians' strike has not however paralyzed life and work in Kosovo. Thanks to the increased efforts of those who have come to work, as well as to reinforcements sent from many towns in Serbia, all the vital systems are functioning normally. The reinforcements have been predominantly sent to the electricity-generating plants, hospitals, post offices, transport and other firms, and the institutions of special importance.

'Hundreds' of Serb Workers Arrive

AU0309100190 Paris AFP in English 0939 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 3 Sep (AFP)—The Yugoslav Province of Kosovo ground to a standstill Monday [3 September] as people of Albanian descent, the majority population, staged a 24-hour strike to protest against the dissolution of the regional parliament.

Pristina, the capital of Kosovo Province, was empty early Monday. The local market, normally a hive of activity, was deserted, and the crafts centre was closed. The only shops open were those owned by Serbs. The population of Kosovo, an autonomous province attached to Serbia, is 90 per cent Albanian.

The strike was called by the Federation of Independent Trade Unions to protest the "repression" and sacking of around 10,000 people resulting from the dissolution of the province's parliament and government by Serbia in July.

The federation, which is limited to people of Albanian extraction, urged strikers to keep off the streets, in order to avoid trouble or provocation of police. But it maintained limited services in hospitals and the energy sector.

Jusuf Buxhovi, secretary of the Democratic Union of Kosovo, the main Albanian opposition, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE: "This strike is a warning and demonstration of the solidarity and discipline of Kosovo Albanians."

Opposition organisations called on parents to keep their children away from school, thus delaying the start of the new school year.

The Serbian authorities sent hundreds of workers to Kosovo to keep vital services going, such as transport and telecommunications.

Sources here said that the Serbian-nominated administrators of Kosovo had been holding an emergency meeting since early Monday morning.

Party Leaders on Strike's Signal

AU0309200890 Paris AFP in English 1745 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 3 Sep (AFP)—Ethnic Albanians in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo responded massively Monday [3 September] to a 24-hour strike call.

A jubilant opposition leader Jusuf Buxhovi said the general strike "showed the people's hostility to Serbia's repressive policy in Kosovo".

The Republic of Serbia reduced Kosovo's autonomy through constitutional changes in 1989, and on July 2 scrapped the provincial government after ethnic Albanian members of the Kosovo parliament proclaimed the province independent.

The population of the autonomous province of Kosovo is 90 per cent Albanian.

Pristina, capital of Kosovo, was empty on Monday. The local market was deserted with only Serbian-owned shops open. Wall posters proclaimed "No to annexation".

Radio Pristina said all Kosovo towns had heeded the strike call. In the province's third city Titova Mitrovica even political leaders had struck leaving the town hall to Serbs rushed to the province to keep the wheels of government turning and vital services going.

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Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Union of Kosovo, said the Serbian authorities "should finally understand now that the Albanian population listens to us."

Mr. Buxhovi, secretary of the same party, which claims a 700,000 strong membership out of the province's 1.7 million Albanians, said if the opposition had not insisted on discipline Monday "civil war would already be raging in Kosovo". The success of the strike showed that Albanians were ready to "take any action to defend their rights."

Local officials however termed the strike only a "partial success", saying some Albanians had come to work.

A visiting U.S. Congressional delegation said last week it was "deeply disturbed" by the repression of ethnic Albanians by Serbian authorities in Kosovo Province.

After visiting Pristina, the U.S. senators also denounced the "brutal" use of force by Serbian security forces against ethnic Albanian demonstrators.

Serbia has blacked out local television, radio and Albanian-language newspapers, and transferred funds held by the National Bank of Kosovo to the Kosovo Interior Ministry and Serbian Railways.

Serb Official on Republic's Response

LD0309182990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1451 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Pristina, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—Serbia has responded to the general strike by Albanians in Kosovo by ensuring that all vital factors of the system will function without any major problems, and some will function even better than normal. The provincial and republican organs, and all other relevant institutions are ready to secure normal functioning of all important services even if the strike is to last longer than planned. This time we have done it with minimum resources. This was stated today to TANJUG by Momcilo Trajkovic, vice president of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in response to today's full-scale strike by Albanian workers in Kosovo. Trajkovic has the task of coordinating activities in implementing the decisions and measures of the republic's assembly in Kosovo.

In his view, the widespread response by the workers of Albanian nationality to the call by the so-called independent trade unions and other alternative groupings is yet further evidence to show the extent to which Albanians have been forced into mindless obedience under the pretext of the struggle for democracy and human rights. Trajkovic noted that, unfortunately,it has been shown once again that Albanians are alone in obeying the instructions and orders of their separatist leaders. The strike has not been joined by a single member of other nationalities, which is yet more evidence of it being of an exclusively political nature. With the help of several hundred experts and other workers from a number of towns in Serbia—workers of Serbian, Montenegrin, Muslim, Turkish, Romany, and Croat nationality—have countered this latest attempted attack on the state of Serbia by increased efforts and extraordinary dedication in their jobs. The fact that the strike has also involved schoolchildren, who were due to return to their classes today, indicates that the strike is purely political and that it has the obstruction of, the opposition to, and disregard for the existence of the Republic of Serbia as its main goal.

Trajkovic pointed out that a number of courageous Albanians did come to work, but that some had to leave the[ir] workplaces because of the fear of reprisals. Appropria[te] legal disciplinary measures will be taken against the st[rikers]. The most serious disciplinary measures,

including dismissal and suspension, will be imposed on managers and experts in charge of production and responsible for ensuring normal functioning of vital services, but who—instead of carryig out these duties—in most cases, are in the forefront of the strike action.

Usual disciplinary measures expected for unauthorized absence from work will be taken against workers; this will also include pay deductions. Those who in the process violate their work contract or disrupt and seriously affect production process must also expect to bear legal consequences.

Particularly firm treatment will be imposed on private shopowners, greengrocers, and managers of state-owned food stores who by their action have disrupted normal supply of food and other goods.

The vice president of the republic's Executive Council called on the Albanians not to allow themselves to be duped by the calls and instructions likely to bring them into conflict with the law. He added that today's developments would be to their own detriment.

Situation in Pristina Deemed 'Extremely Serious'

LD3108202790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1737 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—The Pristina League of Communists Municipal Committee and the Pristina Socialist Alliance of Working People Municipal Conference today examined the current political developments in the city and described them as extremely serious and dramatic, and even further aggravated by the Kosovo independent trade union organization's appeal to Albanian workers for a general strike. The two presidia noted that the announced strike was motivated by unacceptable political goals and resistance to the implementation of Serbia's measures for stabilizing the situation in Kosovo. After such a strike, inter-ethnic divisions in Kosovo would become even deeper and the economic, political, and other consequences would be incalculable, above all for workers themselves and for their families.

For this reason, both presidia are calling on all workers and their managers to resist the appeal of the Kosovo independent trade unions and to proceed with the normalization of production and the increase of productivity. Only this is in the interest of working collectives and the workers themselves.

A communique from the session states it is necessary that the academic year in all primary and secondary schools should start on 3 September, for which responsibility is borne above all by educational institutions, teachers, and the parents of pupils.

Attacks on Police Said Increasing

LD3108222590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1609 GMT 31 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 31 Aug (TANJUG)—In the past two or three days, armed attacks and physical assaults on policemen and officials of the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs, on duty in this province, have become increasingly frequent and serious. The crudest and most dangerous one—the special police units' headquarters announced today—took place last night in the village of Trnava near Podujevo.

In the village of Trnava, which is inhabited by Albanians, police employees, the headquarters reports, practically ran into an organized ambush while on official duty. They were fired on from several types of firearms, including some high-caliber weapons.

The poliemen used firearms in defense. Armored vehicles and a helicopter had to be used to help and rescue the surrounded policemen. None of the policemen were injured, and an investigation is underway to unmask the attackers.

Also in Podujevo last night, on two occasions stones were thrown at special police units while they were on routine patrol.

The special police units headquarters of the Serbian Secretariat for Internal Affairs also announced that yesterday in Pristina, policeman Dragan Radovic was physically assaulted but managed to defend himself with a rubber truncheon. He was attacked by three Albanians who have been identified and proceedings against them are underway.

All this brings unrest, to a greater or lesser degree, into the everyday lives of the Kosovar people, increasing tension on the eve of the new academic year, and the announced general strike of Albanian workers.

Presidency Member Says Kosovo Problems Solvable

LD0209212990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2028 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] Novi Sad, September 2, (TANJUG)—Problems in the Republic of Serbia's turbulent southern province of Kosovo could be solved if all Yugoslav republics really wanted it, Dragutin Zelenovic, member of the Yugoslav State Presidency and member of the main committee of the recently founded Socialist Party of Serbia, stressed here on Sunday [2 September].

Speaking of the programme of the new Serbian party, created by the merger of the League of Communists of Serbia and the mass organization the Socialist Alliance of Serbia, Zelenovic noted that the situation in Kosovo, where special measures introduced by the Serbian authorities were being implemented over the past few months, was being further encumbered by the alleged concern of some Yugoslav republics for ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and by activities of the "external factor."

Zelenovic sharply criticized the conduct of American senators who on Friday visited Kosovo and expressed

full support for the protection of human rights of Albanians in Kosovo. The Serbian people will not tolerate any outside interference, he stressed.

A strong movement for the province's independence from Serbia is active in Kosovo, about 90 percent of whose population are ethnic Albanians and about 10 percent Serbs, Montenegrins and members of other nations and nationalities. The Kosovo provincial parliament and government were dissolved by the Serbian parliament last July, following an attempt by ethnic Albanian delegates to the provincial parliament to proclaim Kosovo independent from Serbia within the Yugoslav federation. The Serbian parliament's move met with boycott on the part of ethnic Albanians in the province.

Turning to Yugoslavia's foreign policy, Zelenovic stressed that the country has, unnecesserily, linked itself too strongly with the nonaligned countries over the past four decades. He thought that had Yugoslavia, after World War II, turned towards cooperation with the developed countries in Europe and the world, it would have by now probably become an equal member of the European Community.

Impact of Serbian Policy Towards Kosovo Viewed

AU0409073490 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 90 p 1

[Ljubomir Cucic commentary: "Amputation or Arbitrage"]

[Text] Judging by everything, Yugoslavia is entering the final stage of international discredit. Since it has repeatedly been criticized by the resolutions of the European Parliament and the U.S. Congress for violating human rights, Yugoslavia is now, it seems, facing specific measures of political and perhaps economic reprisal. The direct cause of this could be the high level U.S. delegation which, led by the leader of the Republicans in the Congress, recently visited some hot spots in our country. The root of the cause however lies in Serbia's repressive policy in Kosovo.

The condemnation of Yugoslavia and everybody in it (including the government and the Presidency)—who are caught in the net of the discriminatory great Serbian policy like hostages—started a year ago when various international forums, ranging from the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights to the unavoidable Amnesty International (according to which Yugoslavia is one of the countries with the highest number of political prisoners in the world), publicly protested against ethnic and political discrimination in Serbia.

In practice, this condemnation was first reflected through the hesitation of the EC, as the coordinator of the Group of 24, to implement the "Phare" program of credit support. Yugoslavia, which is regarded by the EC as a Mediterranean country, was listed among the East European countries for which the financial aid was dependent on a number of factors (multiparty elections, human rights, the rule of law). After the announcement of a provisional signing of the third financial protocol with Yugoslavia, the EC slowed down its initiative and showed reluctance to talk with the federal government.

Washington, as the second relevant judge of Yugoslavia's international rating, has sent a fact-finding mission before it itself undertakes international condemnation measures (will there be a boycott too?). It is amazing with how much zeal the newspapers in Serbia wrote about 13,000 Serbs losing their jobs in Croatia about the same time the U.S. delegation visited Zagreb. Nevertheless, the truth about apartheid in Kosovo cannot be hidden. The number of Albanians dismissed from work in Kosovo is difficult to estimate, the news about the general strike scheduled for 3 September has already gone around the world, and the fuss made immediately before the arrival of the U.S. delegation cannot be cleared with police sticks like a thousand Albanians.

Yugoslavia is, just as was anticipated, helplessly wiggling in the water muddied in Belgrade. Since Yugoslavia it still an internationally recognized subject, all measures of condemnation or isolation—repression in Kosovo has reached such an extent that nothing can be excluded—would not only be felt by Serbia, but the entire country. Will this at least be a reason for the federal leadership to finally speak its mind on what the Serbian leadership is doing, or will it lose its honor and continue to hide itself behind the accusations of "interfering in internal affairs?" Finally, one more question: Will the West, in case it decides to take a radically sharper political stand toward Yugoslavia or apply some form of sanctions because of the behavior of one federal unit, not in fact achieve the opposite effect? The stability of the Balkan and this part of Europe can probably no longer be assured through "collective punishment," but above all international efforts for a peaceful solution through negotiations.

Radmilovic Says Kosovo 'Integral Part' of Serbia

LD0209083490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1417 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—The Government of Serbia maintains that it is its duty to protect the rights of all the republic's citizens, and ensure their personal security and the security of their property—including citizens of Albanian nationality as well as everyone else. Hence, it is willing to pay attention to each case of possible threats to human rights and personal and property security, regardless from where these threats stem.

President of the republican government, Stanko Radmilovic stressed this at today's session of the Executive Council of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, held in Pristina, in the course of a debate on the economic and political situation in Kosovo and the results of the measures taken by the republican Assembly. Radmilovic pointed out that boycott of work duties, civil disobedience and political strikes, and the

use of arms must not be means of manipulation in the service of "alleged struggle for human freedoms and civil rights, something which is not under threat anyway."

The first stage of implementing the measures and decisions of the republican assembly and stabilizing the situation in Kosovo has been successfully completed, Momcilo Trajkovic, vice president of the Executive Council, stated. Its aim is to restore the functioning of the authorities in the province. At the same time, the implementation of these tasks has met with resistance from virtually every employed Albanian. The majority of them have been subject to termination of employment; nevertheless, Trajkovic noted, this does not mean—as rumors among the Albanian public would have it—that "Serbia is dismissing Albanians; these people are themselves cancelling their employment as they do not recognize or want the state of Serbia." In addition to this, the main problem in the course of further work will be cadre one. Above all, there is a lack of expert cadres in the economy and state organs. Nevertheless, the fact that there is an increasing number of Albanians asking to be involved in work is encouraging, Trajkovic said.

Presenting data on the state of the Kosovo economy and social activities, the members of the council considered these issues catastrophic, and held that the province is practically under its own economic blockade. In its support for inactivity, and by "affirming" "the worse the better" principle and bringing in incredible politicization to factories and work places, the former Kosovo leadership created an unheard-of state of chaos in the province. While resolving these problems Kosov, it was said, must by and large rely on its own potentials. For, as Stanko Radmilovic noted, Serbia alone does not have enough energy to sustain all these mistakes and losses. This is, in fact, a matter of billions of dollars having been wasted. [passage omitted]

Revealing a high degree of obstruction, republican secretary for labor, Sojka Djordjevic, said that 2,921 workers in the economy—116 in social services, 278 in administrative organs, and 299 in municipal services—have been dismissed for refusing to carry out their work duties in the wake of the takeover of state functions in Kosovo. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the claim that the autonomy of the provinces has been annulled, the president of the Serbian Government noted that—according to the 1974 Constitution and measured by all the world's criteria—this was no autonomy, but "states perfidiously smuggled into the state of Serbia in order to tear it apart and disunite it," as he put it. The fact is being concealed from the Albanians that autonomy is not being annulled, but that a genuine autonomy—as it is known in the world—is now being introduced, Radmilovic said. He added that "Serbia would be considerably pleased if those Serbian people living outside Serbia's territory had the kind of autonomy that the Albanian nationality will have in Kosovo and Metohija." This is, in fact, a kind of autonomy which could objectively satisfy all except, of course, those who want to remove Kosovo from Serbia at any cost. Radmilovic cautioned, however, that one should make it clear that by no means will Serbia allow the realization of this aim, regardless of its guise of democracy and human rights and the amount of pressure mounted.

Reflecting upon the decisions to dissolve the provincial assembly and its Executive Council which—in their attempt to jeopardize Serbia's integrity, adopted the resolution on Kosovo's secession from Serbia's integrity—adopted the resolution on Kosovo's secession from Serbia, Stanko Radmilovic said that only those who are blindfolded by their separatist goals or are pressed toward them for some other reasons can maliciously regard these measures—of a kind which any sovereign country would have taken—as threats to basic human freedoms and citizen rights. It is only they who are capable of saying that Serbia is installing only Serbs and Montenegrins in responsible posts so as to oppress the Albanians, while keeping silent about the fact that these posts were offered to a great number of Albanians who were not allowed to accept them because the Albanian separatists threatened them.

The president of the Executive Council of Serbia said that a solution to the Kosovo crisis can be made possible if one rationally understands and accepts that Kosovo and Metohija are, and should remain, an integral part of Serbia and that Serbia will not and does not want to abolish its autonomy, but wants to make it resemble those in other countries and to ensure the functioning of a rule-of-law state across Serbia's entire territory.

Radmilovic added that there are no obstacles in practice for the legalization of political parties in Kosovo, and that the only reason why this had not happened was the attempt to create the impression that there is no democracy and pluralism in Kosovo, and the fact that some political parties from Kosovo do not want to be registered within Serbia, for they do not recognize it. [passage omitted]

LDK President Rugova Discusses Kosovar Autonomy

AU3108192190 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 26 Aug 90 p 5

[First part of interview with Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance, by Mehmet Emerllahu on 23 August; place not given: "Nobody Can Halt Democratic Processes"; first paragraph is FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT introduction]

[Text] Dr. Ibrahim Rugova requires no special introduction for Albanian readers and the public. He is well known, not only to the public in Yugoslavia but to the world as well. The public knows Dr. Ibrahim Rugova above all for his rational and democratic views and his consistent commitment to the cause of Kosovo, and as president of the largest opposition party not only in

Kosovo, but in Yugoslavia, the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK]. As he has said so many times, Ibrahim Rugova did not enter politics because he wished to do so or out of political ambition, but more because the times demanded it and the Albanians needed somebody to lead them who would not trample on their interests and dignity, but would commit himself to defending them in a worthy manner. Ibrahim Rugova came to politics as an intellectual and chairman of the Kosovo Writers' Association, a post he retains to this day. He was not seized by careerist ambitions, as were hordes of leaders who, when the moment required it, turned their backs on the people. Ibrahim Rugova is a genuine creative writer, a literary critic and theoretician, and the author of several books and many articles in the field of literature and art. Three days ago, we conducted a spontaneous conversation (recorded on tape) with Ibrahim Rugova about current policies in Kosovo and Yugoslavia and about the thinking of the democratic world at a time of major upheaval and conflict in Yugoslavia, in which Kosovo remains at the center of attention. One can talk to Ibrahim about any question of interest concerning Kosovo and the Albanians, because he is ready to reply without the slightest hesitation or political calculation.

[Emerllahu] The newspaper RILINDJA delayed an interview with you, Mr. Rugova, because, among other reasons, it was waiting to hear something new, something as yet unsaid, and wished this to be communicated to the paper by the foremost opposition leader in Kosovo. However, it turned out that we once again did not behave sensibly, and were as always too late. As you know, what happened happened! RILINDJA was banned, and a total Albanian-language information blockade was imposed. How do you explain these events?

[Rugova] Let us start with what you said about our always being too late. We in the LDK have been told we have been too late in some questions, and at times we really should have responded more promptly. It is right that RILINDJA might reasonably have waited for a more extended conversation, in which we would have set forth the issues in a more detailed and organized way. However, I gave an interview to the magazine FJALA a short time before, and this might be one of the reasons why RILINDJA "delayed" talking to me as the LDK leader. KOSOVARJA also talked to me as a representative of the Kosovo opposition. This was virtually my first communication with the Albanian press, because, in contrast to the country's other media and especially those abroad, the Kosovo media kept representatives of the opposition somewhat at arm's length until recently. To tell the truth, I somehow did not feel comfortable even when I had talked to the journalists of these two papers, because we were not used to talking so frankly in the Albanian-language media about issues which are so serious for the Albanians. We in the opposition talked more often to Slovene, Croat, and foreign journalists. Not even the style and phraseology of Albanian journalism were accustomed to openly discussing the problems that preoccupied us. However, in the last two months, even Albanian journalism has breathed more freely and conversations with opposition representatives have become part of its everyday work. Albanian journalism made a good start in considering our problems, and even after the closure of RILINDJA, this journalism is continuing to carry out its duties among magazines that we publish, although matters stand differently where the daily newspaper is concerned. What can I say about the closure of RILINDJA? This is in fact what might be called a white occupation, if we follow the theory of red terror and white terror, the theory of revolutions and counterrevolutions! It is a white or silent occupation, because we made no physical response, and did not take to the streets in demonstrations. However, the world has realized that we are resisting politically with what I would call peaceful, or even Gandhian resistance. Even this pays off, because we believe that the problems will nevertheless be solved by political means. Our people have long understood what is at stake and are now showing their wisdom, patience, and intelligence, because this is what the times demand, until a real solution to the problem of Kosovo is achieved.

[Emerllahu] In your interview given to FJALA (15 May 1990), you were the first to produce the proposal for the Constitutional Declaration, in other words a new constitution for Kosovo. You thus committed yourself to the highest form of autonomy within the federation—the republic of Kosovo. The Kosovo Academy of Sciences and Arts later produced a text of such a declaration, while the delegates of the Kosovo Assembly approved the now famous Constitutional Declaration on 2 July. Three days later, the Serbian Assembly took the decision to abolish the Kosovo Assembly and its organs. Where were the organs of the federation, which failed to respond to this unprecedented act, and took no steps?

[Rugova] We in the LDK have provided for the status of Kosovo in our program. We have never had the slightest doubt or hesitation about this. We once thought of issuing a constitutional declaration, however, these other bodies then spoke out themselves. This did not spoil our plans at all. The strategy of the LDK has been and remains that each body, including the Kosovo Assembly and its delegates, who have seen the light, and the government after them, should work in its own autonomous way, I say that they have seen the light, because they were elected under a one-party system, were, as they say ,"hand-picked," but then they approved the demands of the people. We in the LDK also support the declaration approved by the delegates, because we, of course, share the same views on the status of Kosovo. I want to say that the method of decentralizing duties and functions has been proven to be very productive. I say that it is not important who took the first initiative and who supported it. What is important is that we all are and will remain committed to the fundamental issue of the sovereignty of Kosovo. I may say that we had already produced a response to the referendum organized by Serbia, and said at that time that we would soon issue a constitutional declaration. We therefore support the

Kosovo Assembly's Constitutional Declaration for the highest degree of autonomy—for the republic of Kosovo. Of course, the Declaration embodies this proposal, and we therefore stand behind it. Let us now see how events develop when the new Kosovo constitution is approved.

Meanwhile, as for the federation's response to the situation in Kosovo and the anticonstitutional and illegal act taken by the Serbian Assembly against the Kosovo Assembly and its organs, one really does not know what happened and does not know what to say, except that there might have been some kind of agreement, or that the rump of the federation, a bit of the Executive Council and a part of the Presidency, failed to respond. It might have been a matter of either an agreement or of direct pressure by Serbia on the organs of the Federation for the acceptance of Serbia's policies. In a way, later events suggest that they gave in to Serbia's pressure. If you like, the recent events in Croatia illustrate a similar situation in the federal authorities, because something similar happened again.

[Emerllahu] Do you think that not even Croatia will be able to escape the pressure and provocation of Serbia?

[Rugova] There too, something similar to Kosovo happened. They are either opening the doors to Serbian expansionist policies, or playing some short-term game. It seems that the latter is more likely, because it is clear to Croatia what is happening and what might happen. It is therefore a disgrace that the Federation did not respond and do so vigorously in the case of Kosovo, because it had constitutional grounds. Because one assembly has been suspended (and Serbia has now suspended the Kosovo Assembly), the federation is unable to function as a whole. This criterion must be supported according to the existing Constitution, that of 1974, which is still in force. Unfortunately, at the very time when new "manifestations" are taking place in Croatia, it is being said that the Constitution must be enforced. The very same people who destroyed the existing Constitution are now who are now appealing to it. Jovic, for instance, began this in Serbia and Kosovo, but now comes out and demands that the Constitution should be enforced in order to settle other accounts. Thus, the Constitution is all right when it is needed, but not when it is not needed. This is totally arbitrary, the arbitrariness of whom it pleases! At a time when, for instance, the European Parliament finds it proper to respond to the situation created in Kosovo, the Yugoslav parliament remains deaf. The situation is clear. A special standpoint toward Kosovo is being applied, and there is no reaction when the law is not enforced or when the law is abused. There should at least be a response when federal laws are not applied. An absurdity that needs no comment!

[Emerllahu] Why is it that the Albanians in Kosovo have never been allowed to speak out freely about their fate, and whenever they should have, "states of emergency" have been created or improvised?

[Rugova] I must once again start with the remarks being made these days, according to which the people have the right to speak out freely: through the Presidency, the Assembly, the Federal Executive Council, the mouthpiece of the Army, and so forth. Ridiculous. Arbitrary. What holds good for others in Yugoslavia, does not hold good for the Albanians. What an irony! When the delegates of the Kosovo Assembly issued a declaration in an official manner, they do not accept this declaration. They do not accept any subsequent declaration. The opposition parties which have been formed could be considered a declaration for a multiparty system. However, because these parties involve Albanians, these parties are not accepted either. Thus the Albanians have no right to speak out about anything, not even pluralism. These means that we are moving backwards to the situation in prewar Yugoslavia, when the Albanians were denied a political voice (they have never had political parties, although they tried to form them in the twenties); they have never had property rights (property was given to them and taken away from them at whim), not to mention the right to work, cultural emancipation, and so on and so forth. We are thus reverting to a situation which is a kind of amalgam of Bolshevik thinking and that of the Rankovic era of the fifties. It is a mixture of extreme nationalism and extreme Stalinism. Amazingly, although the Stalinist system is collapsing in every country in East Europe, Bolshevism is reviving in Serbia. We thus have neo-Bolshevism and neo-Stalinism, and I do not know what Europe in the future will think of this revival, this restoration of extreme Bolshevism and Stalinism. It seems (although I have never said this publicly), that if events continue in this way, and the Albanians are thought to be different from other people, in other words are seen as a foreign body in Yugoslavia (when they are not allowed to speak out, and are not represented in any way), we must then think about this. We will then present the issues, and not merely our demands for rights, in a different way, because if the concept of Yugoslavia as a state of the south Slavs, which happens to include members of some other Balkan peoples, is pursued, the problems are of a much graver and more serious nature.

(To be continued in the next issue)

Zagreb Meeting Supports Albanian Strike in Kosovo

LD0309165190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] A meeting to support the general strike by Kosovo's Albanians, organized by the Democratic Alliance of Albanians in Croatia, began at 1400 in Zagreb's Student Center. About 2,000 people tightly packed its movie hall to protest against the greater-Serbian state terror in Moscovo by frequent applause, slogans, and raising two fingers. The meeting of solidarity with the Albanians in Kosovo was attended by Zagreb University Rector Zvonimir Separovic, Drazen Budisa, president of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party, Ivan Cesar, president

of the Croatian Christian Democratic Party, Ivan Gabelica, vice president of the Croatian Democratic Party, Branko Mavracic, on behalf of Croatian Democratic Community [Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica], Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, on behalf of the Croatian Peasant Party, and Jure Sonja, on behalf of the Croatian People's Peasant Party. As we report this, the meeting is still in progress.

Croat Serbs Vote 'Overwhelmingly' for Autonomy

LD0309201990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1820 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Knin, 9 Sep (TANJUG)—The Serbian people in Croatia have overwhelmingly voted for its autonomy. If Croatia remains a federal unit within Yugoslavia, this will mean cultural autonomy, including self-rule for municipalities and communities of municipalities, Dr Milan Babic, president of the Knin municipal assembly and president of the Serbian National Council, told Radio Knin this evening. He went on to add that if Croatia decides in favor of confederation or secession, autonomy will become political and territorial.

Commenting on the decision of the Croat Constitutional Court to declare the formation of the community of municipalities from this area null and void, Milan Babic stressed that it violates the SFRY Constitution.

Tudjman Says Serbs Not Subject to 'Suppression'

AU0209191990 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 1 Sep 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman by Carl Gustaf Stroehm; place and date not given: "Serbs Are Not Exposed to Suppression Here"; first paragraph is DIE WELT introduction]

[Text] The president of the Republic of Croatia, Franjo Tudjman, has passed a crucial test: He had to cope with an armed revolt of parts of the Serb minority in Croatia. The head of state explained the backgrounds and the consequences of the Serb-Croat conflict to DIE WELT from his perspective. In his view, the Yugoslav Army took a position against democratic Croatia.

[Stroehm] In your opinion, where does the Yugoslav Army stand today?

[Tudjman] From the very beginning, the Army has made it clear that it does not side with the new democratic government in Croatia. It continues to raise the Yugoslav flag over its barracks and buildings—the red flag of the Communist Party and the old Croat flag with the red star—not the new Croat flag, which has been cleared of all ideological emblems and whose coat-of-arms shows the pattern of a chess board. This indicates, unmistakably, where the Army leadership stands.

On the other hand, one must also consider that apart from the Air Force—which stopped one of our police helicopters— and apart from several officers who joined the Serb movement as individuals, the Army has not supported the uprising of the Serbs as a whole.

[Stroehm] What are the steps you intend to take against the Serbs in Knin?

[Tudjman] It was most important for us to avoid bloodshed and civil war. This might have provided the pretext for military intervention and for quelling the democratic movement not only in Croatia, but also in other parts of Yugoslavia. If blood had been shed, then our aspired comprehensive agreement between the Republic of Croatia and the other republics would have been threatened.

Now I expect the federal Yugoslav Government, as well as the State Presidency, to grant the legal government of Croatia support in this question. If this rebellious group within the Serb minority receives no support from the outside, the Croat Government will find it easier to restore normal order through constitutional means.

There will not be territorial autonomy for the Serbs in Croatia. Nobody knows exactly what they really want—whether it is political, territorial, or cultural autonomy.

[Stroehm] It has been said that the Serbs in Croatia are being threatened.

[Tudjman] It is simply not true that the Serbs in Croatia were stripped of any rights after the amendments to the Constitution came into force. We have not restricted any rights. Let me stress the following: Our doors are open to everybody—not only for the journalists of the international press. In addition, we are ready to receive delegations of the European Parliament, European Helsinki Commission, or the United Nations at any time, so that they can convince themselves of the democratic attitude of the Croat Government, as well as of the fact that the Serbs in Croatia are not being discriminated against, let alone suppressed.

In the Croat Parliament there are 27 elected Serb deputies. Only four of them belong to the radical Serb movement. Yet, we offered this group the post of vice president. We told them: We guarantee you all rights and ask you to tell us what else you want. Instead, they organized a putsch—and clearly did so with a scenario that was drawn up outside Croatia. Unfortunately, we know that the leadership of the Serb Orthodox Church and the Serb policy in Belgrade are behind it. This was the conspiracy.

[Stroehm] If this is true—what was the objective behind it?

[Tudjman] The objective is to destabilize democratic Croatia and undermine Croat sovereignty. They want the situation to remain unchanged; when the Serbs were privileged in Croatia, when the Croat Government consisted of 40 percent of Serbs, when 60 percent of the police officers were Serbs. These people either want a centralist Yugoslavia or a greater Serbia. This requires the overthrow of the democratic government of Croatia.

Then the democratic government of Slovenia would also fall—and thus the conversion of Yugoslavia into a confederation of democratic states is prevented. Like the Slovens, we Croats are also convinced that Yugoslavia can exist only as a federation of states—but certainly not on the former undefined foundation, which makes a continues interference of Serbia or the Army into Croat affairs possible. Moreover, these actions are intended to distract the attention from the situation in Kosovo.

[Stroehm] Do you anticipate any partners for talks and understanding on the Serb side?

[Tudjman] We hear that there are liberal, democratic Serb intellectuals, who are guided by Europe. Yet we do not see them on the political scene. Those who make the most active and noisy appearances on the pluralist scene in Serbia are even more radically greater Serbian-minded than the current Communist leadership. For us in Croatia, it is essential to have our Croat policy, which is based on democratic principles. We are not really interested in what is going on in Serbia. We will talk to every Serb representative.

As a historian I would like to add: The Serbs are obviously returning to their traditional political attitude. A greater Serb policy is pursued against the non-Serb nations.

[Stroehm] Under these circumstances, is the concept of a Yugoslav confederation still realistic or is it not rather an illusion?

[Tudjman] Your question might already contain the answer. We, the democratic leadership of Croatia, will certainly do everything to bring about a decision to the question as to whether such a federation of states is possible or not.

Levels Charges Against Army

LD0109130390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1212 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Bonn, 1 Sep (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman has accused the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) [JNA] of "having made it clear from the start that it is not on the side of the new democratic government of Croatia."

In his interview carried in today's DIE WELT, Tudjman observes that the flags flying outside army barracks are the "banners of Yugoslavia, the red flags of the Communist Party, and Croatia's old flags with five-pointed stars, while there are no new Croatian flags with the checkered emblem (instead of the five-pointed star) and relieved of any other ideological symbols."

Croatia's new authorities, elected in April at the first postwar multi-party elections in this Yugoslav Republic, have changed the republic's symbols. They also carried constitutional amendments which provoked the protests by Serbs in Croatia (Serbs are minority in Croatia and majority population in Yugoslavia).

Tudjman says in his interview to DIE WELT that "except for the Air Force, which have intercepted Croatian police helicopters, and except for some officers who, as individuals, have joined the Serbian movement—the Army as a whole has not upheld the uprising of the Serbs."

Having stressed that "it is simply not true that the Serbs in Croatia, after the enforcement of the constitutional changes, have been deprived of any rights," Tudjman assesses that what stands behind such allegations there is the desire that the situation shall "remain what it has been so far—that the Serbs in Croatia be privileged, that 40 per cent of the Croatian government and 60 per cent of the Croatian police be Serbs."

Tudjman goes on to say that "these people want either a centralistic Yugoslavia or a greater Serbia." He adds that the advocates of such intentions want to "topple the democratic government of Croatia, and, later on, also that of Slovenia (another Yugoslav republic which has held its multi-party elections) and thus prevent Yugoslavia's transformation into a confederation of democratic states."

Knin Commune Head Says Croat Police Not Welcome

AU0109204290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 1 Sep 90

[Text] Serbian Radio Knin announced this evening that the president of the Executive Council of the Knin Commune has sent a telex to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Croatia which says, among other things, that Knin has been informed that Croatian constables are to be taken by bus from Split [where the European Athletics Championships have ended] to Zagreb, via Knin. However, the telex says, the unfortunate events during the Serbs' referendum on autonomy make us inform you that Croatian constables are not welcome in the territory of Serbian communes.

Radio Knin reports that the Croatian Ministry of Internal Affairs has been warned that in deciding on the movement of the buses, one should bear in mind the possible far-reaching consequences for Serbian-Croatian relations, and even an interruption of the dialogue and the provocation of ethnic clashes.

Serbian Radio Knin also reported that 70 constables are to arrive in Benkovac, Obrovac, and Knin tomorrow or Monday [3 September]. Sergej Veselinovic, president of the Obrovac Communal Assembly, has received (?a message from the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Zadar requesting) that accommodation for some of these constables be provided in the Benkovac Commune.

Roads in Knin Region Blocked Overnight

AU0309072790 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0200 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] The team of Belgrade Radio correspondents reported from Knin last night that all roads from Knin to

Sibenik and Split had been blocked since 2200 [2000 GMT]. Knin Radio reported that this also applied to roads toward Gracac and Bosansko Grahovo. The road blockade is planned to last until 0600 [0400 GMT]. The cause for this, as the Knin Communal Executive Council announced, was the return of the Croat militiamen who provided security at the European Athletic Championship in Split. They will be returning to Zagreb via Knin which has caused upset and tension in the Knin Region.

First Payments Made to Fund Aiding Croat Serbs

AU0209170490 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "First Contributions"]

[Text] The Nikola Tesla Fund, which the Socialist Party of Serbia has set up to help the Serbs in Croatia, has started receiving its first contributions.

Jugodrvo of Belgrade has contributed 30,000 dinars, and Karic Turist, a private firm (it is part of the Brothers Karic enterprise) paid 100,000 dinars to the fund. The Vojvodina Lottery paid 200,000 dinars yesterday.

Macedonians Protest to Greek Foreign Minister

LD0309175790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1626 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Skopje, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—The Party of Yugoslavs in Macedonia sent a protest letter to Greek Foreign Minister Antonis Samaras over his statement denying the Macedonian people the right to the name.

Samaras told yesterday's KATHIMERINI daily that it is "incomprehensible and historically untenable that the Macedonian name stands for a Slav people".

Samaras added that Greece recognizes only a Moslem minority on its territory, in western Thrace.

The party letter said historic science had already cleared up dilemmas that Samaras is still upholding and that a clear line should be drawn between ancient Macedonians and today's Macedonians.

The letter adds that the denial of a nationally affirmed people such as the Macedonians does not contribute to developing good neighbor relations and lasting friendship between Yugoslav and Greece, especially between the Macedonian and Greek peoples.

Romanian President Iliescu Arrives for Visit

LD0309111990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1031 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—Romanian President Ion Iliescu arrived in Belgrade today on an official three-day visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic.

President Iliescu was welcomed with the highest military and state honors by SFRY Presidency President Borisav Jovic; Federal Executive Council Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic; Aleksandar Bakocevic, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; and the federation's other top officials.

The Romanian president is accompanied by Minister of Foreign Affairs Adrian Nastase; Minister of Resources and Industry Zisu Mihhhai; and Napoleon Pop, head of the department for foreign trade. The delegation also comprises Milenko Lukin, president of the Democratic Alliance of Serbs in Romania, and the prefect of the region of [words indistinct], Florentin Cirpan.

The official Yugoslav-Romanian talks start this afternoon. During his visit to Yugoslavia, the Romanian president will meet Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and Croatian President Tudjman.

Talks With Jovic 'Open,' 'Friendly'

LD0309212890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1923 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Sep (TANJUG)—In their talks in Belgrade today Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Romanian President Ion Iliescu displayed a similarity of views on all bilateral and international issues covered by the talks. The top-level meeting between the representatives of the two countries—the first after the changes in neighboring Romania last December—was opened by an exceptionally open and friendly exchange of views, which fully reflected the new terms of cooperation.

Presidents Jovic and Iliescu spoke in favor of developing bilateral cooperation and cooperation in the Balkans as factors of the process of general detente in both Europe and the world.

The two presidents displayed an identity of views on the crisis in the Gulf and on the need to resolve it exclusively in line with the five UN resolutions. Very similar or identical standpoints were evident during talks on other international developments.

In the course of their two-hour talks—much longer than planned—Presidents Jovic and Iliescu informed each other about the situation in their two countries and also discussed all aspects of bilateral cooperaton. It was agreed that departmental ministers should continue concrete talks about expanding and updating cooperation. For the first time in a long period, considerable attention was devoted to national minorities in the two countries. President Iliescu paid tribute to Yugoslavia for the comprehensive way in which it had developed the rights of the Romanian national minority in Yugoslavia. He stressed that Romania is making efforts to restore all the rights of the Serbian and Croatian minorities of which they were deprived during the previous regime.

This afternoon, Romanian President Ion Iliescu laid a wreath at the tomb of unknown soldier on Mount Avala.

Emphasis on Long-Term Cooperation

LD0309213490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2027 GMT 3 Sep 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 September (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia and Romania are both interested in further developing and expanding their cooperation. In their view, the changes under way in the two countries will create prospects for promoting relations, which will reflect the wishes, needs, and aspirations of the people on both sides of the border. This is a common view expressed this evening in the toasts at a formal dinner hosted by Borisav Jovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, in honor of Romanian President Ion Iliescu.

President Jovic placed particular emphasis on the need to promote long-term bilateral relations in the economic sphere and also cultural, educational, scientific, technical, and border-area cooperation.

For his part, President Iliescu emphasized that the advancement of relations and understanding between neighbors is an essential condition for cooperation on a wider scale. He also stressed that "since the events of last December, Romania has been aware of the support of its Yugoslav friends." He also expressed gratitude for the material and moral assistance that Yugoslavia gave to the new processes in his country.

A considerable part of President Jovic's toast was devoted to the importance of the national minorities in the two countries for the development of good-neighborly relations. He paid tribute and expressed gratitude to the Romanian Government for its new democratic approach to the issue of the status of the minorities in Romania, adding that the recognition of their rights is an indicator of the level of the respect for human rights in an environment. President Iliescu stressed that, in light of the importance of the national minority issue, both Yugoslavia and Romania—as well as other countries in the Balkans—should base their cooperation in this sphere on a particular code. He put forth a proposal for establishing a Balkan institute to deal with all aspects of national minority problems which, at the same time, would be a contribution by the countries of this region to the efforts to resolve this issue throughout the world.

Yugoslavia and Romania maintain that the Balkan peninsula should become a zone of trust and cooperation. President Iliescu urged the consolidation of the process of cooperation in the region as part of a comprehensive European process. President Jovic expressed the conviction that the Balkan countries "will succeed in overcoming the burdens from the past and be able to turn to the future."

Yugoslavia is advocating the easing of tensions and removal of divisions between the blocs, President Jovic stressed, and went on to conclude that positive trends are forthcoming, as well as a clearer orientation to dialogue and mutual respect.

According to President Iliescu, Romania believes that the problem of military blocs should be reviewed in "a new light", with the aim of their disbandment through a reduction of the military and a strengthening of the political role. President Jovic especially stressed that the modern world is also burdened with the problems of the developing countries, which are not yet being tackled. He added that Yugoslavia is convinced that under the changed conditions in the world the principles of non-alignment provide the foundations for resolution of numerous economic and political problems.

Presidents Jovic and Iliescu voiced concern over the course that the Gulf crisis is taking, condemned the use of force in solving outstanding issues, and urged that the problems are resolved only on the basis of the UN Security Council resolutions.

In the toasts, Presidents Jovic and Iliescu underscored the need for urgent Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. President Jovic especially denounced the forced detention of foreign nationals in Iraq and Kuwait.

Review of Relations on Eve of Iliescu Visit

AU0209184590 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Sep 90

[Text] The political dialogue that was established between Yugoslavia and the representatives of the new authorities in Romania, immediately following the changes last December, will continue tomorrow when Romania's President Ion Iliescu arrives in our country for a visit. Dragan Petrovic assesses the Yugoslav-Romanian relations and the forthcoming talks.

[Petrovic] The profound social, political, and economic changes in both countries in the last few months have created the conditions for the Yugoslav-Romanian talks to be conducted in a completely different way in contrast to the previous period. This new approach was confirmed by the Romanian President Iliescu who, prior to his departure for Belgrade, told TANJUG the following:

Romania and Yugoslavia are in a complicated process of economic and social reforms. This is creating new opportunities to develop cooperation in all spheres. Through a joint action our cooperation could become less formal and sterile, something that characterized the past, Iliescu said.

However, economic difficulties are a constraint for the further development of cooperation. The volume of trade envisaged for this year—though still by the plan dating back to Ceausescu's golden era—is $570 million. In the last eight months the value of trade amounted however only to $136 million. These figures show that one should be improving higher forms of long-term collaboration such as specialization, cooperation, and

joint ventures in third markets because these forms of relations have a stabilizing effect on the total economic cooperation. In fact they make it more resistant to temporary problems that are shaking the economic systems of both countries.

The visit by the Romanian president to Belgrade and Zagreb between 3 and 5 September will certainly be an opportunity for the two sides to brief each other on internal situations in Yugoslavia and Romania. Before his departure for Belgrade, Iliescu said that in six months Romania has practically created a new political system admitting that things are not yet going in the smoothest possible way and that the system is experiencing some weaknesses because the country inherited a 50-year old practice of dictatorship.

Concerning the economy, the situation is even more complicated, the Romanian president said because totalitarian structures are yet to be removed from it. Romania's permanent commitment is to develop a market economy.

Concerning the development of good-neighborly relations, the talks with the prominent guest from Romania will certainly focus on how to improve the position of our minority in Romania. The readiness to discuss this issue and adopt a completely new approach to this topic is indicated by the fact that the Romanian delegation includes for the first time the president of the Democratic Alliance of Serbs in Romania, Milenko Lukin.

Talks will also focus on the further cooperation in the Balkans where significant changes have recently taken place and where some old misunderstandings have been reactivated. For this reason, as Iliescu said, the Balkan is again seen as a sensitive part of Europe.

Concerning the talks on international issues, the new processes in Europe, relations between the superpowers, the crisis in the Persian Gulf, and the problems of undevelopment, foreign debts, and demographic explosion in some parts of the world will undoubtedly be in the focal point.

The duty of all politicians, all responsible factors, and all peoples is to create conditions which would enable the profound reforms in the world to be carried out in peace, Iliescu told TANJUG prior to his visit tomorrow to Yugoslavia.